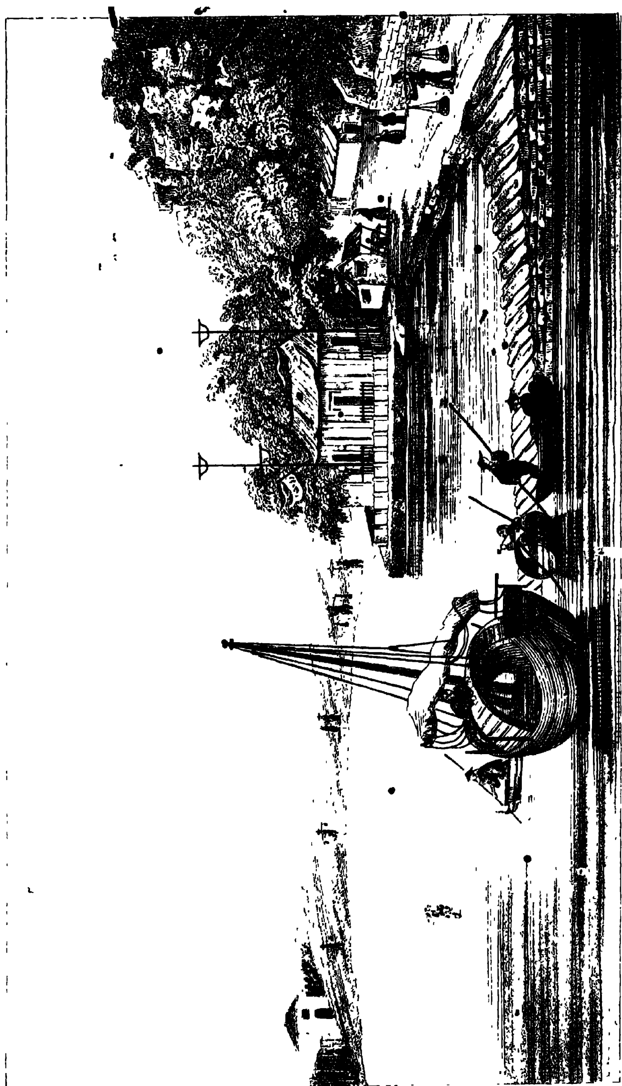


# NARRATIVE

OF THE

# EXPEDITION TO CHINA,

FROM THE

## COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR

TO

## ITS TERMINATION IN 1842;

WITH

SKETCHES OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THAT SINGULAR AND HITHERTO ALMOST UNKNOWN COUNTRY

BY

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*Late First Lieutenant of H. M. S. Modeste.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# NARRATIVE,

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## CHAPTER I.

### BATTLE OF CHUENPEE AND TY-COCK-TOW.

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Alas! they liv'd too sure: I heard them roar:
All turned their sides, and to each other spoke;
I saw their words break out in fire and smoke.
Sure this their voice that thunders from on high,
And these, the younger brothers of the sky,
Deaf with the noise, I took my hasty flight;
No mortal courage can support the fright.—DRYDEN.

---

In commencing a fresh Chapter with the new year, 1841, the accompanying list of the imperial cabinet at Pekin and the local authorities at Canton may assist the reader. Many of the high officers in this list have

already been spoken of, and their names will frequently occur in the following Chapters.

### NUY-KO, OR IMPERIAL CABINET.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Muchangah | A Mantchow Tartar |
| 2. | Pwan Shengan | Chinese |
| 3. | Keshen | Mantchow* |
| 4. | Wang Ting | Chinese |
| 5. | Elepoo | Mantchow† |
| 6. | Tang Kinchaou | Chinese. |

### PROVINCIAL OFFICERS OF CANTON, WITH THE NAMES AND COMMON TITLES OF THOSE PRINCIPALLY CONNECTED WITH FOREIGNERS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Governor | Keshen |
| Lieutenant-governor | Eleang |
| General commandant | Atsingah |
| First Lieutenant-general | Yuhsuy |
| Second Lieutenant-general | Yinglung |
| Literary chancellor | Shen Mowheen |
| Hoppo, or commissioner of maritime customs | Eleang (acting) |
| Admiral | Kwan Teenpei |
| Commissioner of administration | Leang |
| Commissioner of justice | Wang Tinglan |
| Commissioner of gabel | Sung |
| Commissioner of grain | Choo |
| Kwan-chow-foo, or prefect | Yu Paoushun |
| Magistrate | Leang Singyuen |

* Imperial high commissioner at Canton.
† Imperial high commissioner at Chekiang.

| | |
|---|---|
| Magistrate . . . . | Chang Eyu |
| Intendent at Macao . . | Yih Chungfoo |
| Sub-prefect . . . . | Tseang Leihngang |
| Magistrate . . . . | Woo Szeshoo |
| Sub-magistrate . . . | Yang Weishen. |

The policy of the Mantchow dynasty has ever been to divide the government officers between their own countrymen and the conquered Chinese; but the general-in-chief of an army is always a Tartar; the two next in rank probably may be Chinese.

The operations, skirmishes, and battles, which took place in the Canton River, consequent on the bad faith of Keshen, the emperor, and his advisers, will be better understood by a short description of the river and its defences, which it became our duty to attack, and which speedily fell before the prowess of her majesty's arms.

The Bocca Tigris, or Hoo-moon, but more commonly called the *Bogue*, is a narrow throat of the river, about forty-five miles from its entrance, and is formed by Chuenpee and Anunghoy Islands on its eastern, and that of Ty-cock-tow on its western side. It is nearly two miles across at its narrowest

part, where the Islands of North and South Wangtong are situated.

From Chuenpee, which has already been described, the land falls back to the eastward, forming between it and the point on which the Anunghoy, or Woman's Shoe batteries are placed, the extensive shallow bay, commonly known as Anson's. This point lies three miles north-north-west from Chuenpee. These powerful forts consisted of a new and well-built granite battery, forming two-thirds of the segment of a circle, and partly surrounding the old fort of Anunghoy. This fort mounted forty-two guns, four of which were Portuguese brass 68-pounders, purchased from the Macao authorities about two years since. The remainder were of Chinese construction, with an immense weight of metal in them, and of a large calibre. In a line from the northern end of this fort, and facing the river, was a straight work, mounting sixty heavy pieces, about one hundred and fifty yards of rocky beach intervening between it and the north Anunghoy battery, a circular fort mounting forty guns.

Opposite to Anunghoy, and about three-quarters of a mile distance from it, is North Wangtong, equally strongly fortified, and mounting one hundred and sixty-three pieces, while a chain extended from the southernmost, or new fort, to the Island of South Wangtong. This boom was composed of four parts of stout chain cables supported by immense wooden rafts; and it was lowered or hove up by windlasses at Anunghoy, or its eastern end, the western being secured round the rocks in the immediate vicinity of South Wangtong.

An American gentleman who visited the ships during their stay at the Bogue, very quaintly remarked on the boom being alluded to, that the Chinese had asked his opinion of it: "Why, sir, I told them one of your line-of-battle ships would break it like a tobacco-stopper."

Ty-cock-tow, or Great rising head, is on the west side of the throat, two and a quarter miles from and nearly opposite to Chuenpee. Upon this bold point was a powerful battery of twenty-five guns, while on the same shore

opposite Wangtong was the western fort, or Little Ty-cock, of twenty-two guns, flanking the end of these islands, and commanding the western passage. In the rear of all these forts, a large open area was inclosed by high brick walls, extending up the sides of the hills and having gates, over or near which were watch-towers and joss-houses. In the area were erected good brick buildings as quarters for the mandarins and soldiers. Steps were formed within the walls and up the steep sides of the hill in the rear of the bastions, for the purpose of communication, or defence from an attack on the land side.

At the north entrance of the Bogue, and two miles north-east of Anunghoy, is Ty-hoo-tow, or Tiger Island. This is a remarkably mountainous place, with a battery, which was subsequently dismantled and forsaken by the enemy, who would have had no means of escaping from it, in case of defeat, but by water: for it was situated under a tremendous precipice, so steep too, that the steamers could have gone close alongside of it, and have carried it by boarding.

Passing the Bogue, the river runs nearly due north for ten miles, expanding to seven in breadth, and is again contracted at Szetze-yaong, or Lion-reach, being the position of second bar. On the western side of this part of the river, See-chee-top and See-cheetow, the large and small Second Bar pagodas, are situated. The river then gradually narrows for six miles, inclining a little to the westward of north, when it takes a sweep four miles north-west to First Bar; immediately inside of which was a long mud battery embrasured for forty-four guns, with a large raft and sunken junks, forming a wooden bridge across the river, and an effectual boom, above which the Chesapeake and many war-junks were moored.

These rafts were formed of fir trees securely lashed together, and were about fourteen feet broad and three feet in thickness. They were the most securely lashed things I ever beheld, and were moored with numerous cables*.

* These rafts were stated by the Hong merchants to have cost about 200,000 dollars each.

Crossing First Bar, the river takes a more westerly direction for about two miles to Whampoa, the usual anchorage for merchant-ships; but where men-of-war were never allowed to come, it being contrary to Chinese law to permit armed barbarian ships to "defile the inner waters."

The branch or arm of the river I shall now describe, is commonly called Junk River. Three miles above Whampoa pagoda, on the south side of the river, is Howqua's Folly, a square building, mounting thirty guns. The river is about eight hundred yards across at this spot. Seventeen hundred yards further up it is divided into two branches by a long, low island, a little more than a mile in length. On the eastern end of this island, a fort of thirty-six guns is situate, named by the Chinese after the late Lord Napier, it having been erected by them to commemorate the discomfiture and death of that lamented nobleman. Many of the guns bore inscriptions alluding to the events at that time. The river runs from these forts nearly due

west to French Folly, a fort at the eastern end of the city of Canton; the Dutch Folly, built on a small patch of rocks, being about a mile further up, and nearer to the factories, where the river is called Choukeang, or Peal River.

This Folly was originally erected by the Dutch under a pretence that they were building an hospital, when in hoisting in the guns which were cased over, one of them fell out of its box, and exposed the trick to the Chinaman, "He-yaw! how can sick man eat gun." The Dutch had to turn out.

I must now beg the reader to re-cross First Bar, and accompany me up a more westerly passage, which was made use of by the ships that proceeded to Canton, and by which passage the Blenheim was ultimately got within eight miles of that provincial city.

On entering this passage, Danes' and French Islands are left on the right hand. The banks of this reach are well-wooded as far as to the large natural basin, in which

the line-of-battle ship lay, the entrance to which was between two bluff points about one-quarter of a mile apart. Above this the country is a dead flat of paddy-fields, intersected with hundreds of branches of the river and canals.

Various sails showing over the land, as the boats proceed along the streams, form altogether a remarkable scene to the view of a stranger, until he becomes aware that the greatest part of the inhabitants of this alluvial plain live chiefly in boats. The dark blue flags* of the "scrambling dragons," as they move rapidly along under the force of their numerous oars, perhaps chased by an equally swift revenue "fast crab," give a life to the scene, contrasting well with the more honest and lazy trading junk moving listlessly onwards under its heavy mat sail; while the lighter sanpan, propelled by a female sculler, with an

* These distinguishing flags were adopted at the suggestion of Lord John Churchill; nor was there anything new in their use, the Spanish smugglers near Gibraltar having long used a protecting flag.

infant slung in a kiang-paou* at her back, further attracts the notice of the beholder, as its mistresss approaches the shore, and screams to her mate, whose labours have been devoted to the paddy fields.

But the most curious, perhaps, of all are the duck-boats. These are large flat-bottomed craft with basket-work extending from their sides, and over the water for about six feet, forming the residence of the ducks, while the owners live in the boats, and employ themselves in hatching eggs by artificial heat. The ducks when hatched are put into their houses, from whence they are allowed to go out all day on the river, under the care of some staid old drakes, who soon teach them that they are to return to their abode at a certain whistle from their master. Whenever this is heard, it signi-

* The kiang-paou is a cloth, by means of which small children are carried upon the backs of their mothers and nurses. It has four bands attached to it, one of which goes over each shoulder, and two around the waist of the nurses, and are tied upon the breast. These cloths vary much in colour, and great taste is displayed in ornamenting them.

fies not how they are employed, they will be seen hurrying back in the greatest haste, their master standing at the top of the platform with a small switch to flog the last one. Such scrambling! such quacking! such pushing not to be the hindmost!

The defences were very trifling, which were met with in this branch of the river, until arriving at the fort of Tay-wang-kow, or Macao passage fort, which stands on a small island, about three miles below Canton. From each side of this island extended one of the before-mentioned rafts forming an effective boom, and at the same time giving the garrison a free communication with the shore on both sides. One mile beyond this was a second raft extending the whole breadth of the river, and opposite to the garden batteries, which stood on a small wooded hill, and mounted thirty guns. Above this and on the Honan bank were several masked batteries and barracks; while in the suburbs of the city, and facing this branch was the Shameen and western bat-

teries, the Rouge or Red fort being opposite to the factories.

From Tay-wang-kow to the French Folly the river forms with one of its branches nearly a right angle south and east; the east side of the angle being the Chou-keang, or Pearl River, flowing in front of the factories, and along which are moored numerous tiers of boats, with a vast population living in them. The flower-boats are also numerous, which are, in fact, ground-floor floating-houses, elegantly ornamented with carved work outside, and the interiors fitted up according to the use they are applied to, but principally as sort of cafés and pleasure-boats, where the Chinese spend their evenings. These boats all moved off at the approach of the hostile force, and this branch of the river, which you could barely pull through on common occasions, was almost without the vestige of a native vessel.

About the commencement of the year, Keshen, as part of his system, released and sent to us a French Roman Catholic missionary and a lascar, who had been seized by

the Chinese. The missionary had, some months prior, attempted, under the disguise of a native, to enter China from Macao, with the hope of being able to join some of the few remaining Chinese Christians in "the central flowery land." Before he had advanced very far from Macao, he was seized and carried to Canton, and imprisoned, where he was nearly starved, being allowed ten cash only per day to keep himself. On the boat in which they were brought down arriving alongside, he came on board without apparently feeling the least pleasure at his release. He had failed in his object, but purposed to try it again. The poor lascar, on the contrary, was in a perfect ecstacy of delight; he salaamed, he knelt on the deck and kissed it: his joy was unbounded, nor would he again trust himself to the tender mercies of the Chinese, refusing to enter the mandarin's boat for the purpose of having his breakfast.

On the 5th of January, Captain Elliot returned from Macao, where he had been for some few days, and finding that no final

arrangements could be made with Keshen, he applied to the commodore to try *his persuasive powers*, and see what effect the broadside of the ships might have on the celestials. On this Sir Gordon Bremer immediately dispatched an officer with a letter to Chuenpee, to be forwarded to Keshen, announcing that her majesty's plenipotentiary had now put every thing in his hands, and if a satisfactory answer was not returned by eight o'clock of the 7th, hostilities would immediately commence. Thus was every method taken to bring these misguided people to their senses, without the destruction of life that must take place if we once commenced operations.

No answer to this announcement arriving, the signal was made at eight, on the morning of the 7th, for the troops to land. Lieutenant (now Commander) Symons, of the Wellesley, acting as beach-master.

It had been previously arranged that the landing force should consist of the whole of the marines from the ships, formed into a battalion, under Captain Ellis; detachments

of the 26th and 49th regiments, which had lately arrived from Manilla; the 37th Madras native infantry, and Bengal volunteers, with a detachment of the royal artillery; parties of seamen, from the line-of-battle ships, under the command of Lieutenant Wilson, R.N., of the Blenheim, were added to these to drag the guns, of which three were attached to this force: thus amounting altogether to between fourteen or fifteen hundred men, under the command of Major Pratt, of her majesty's 26th regiment, Lieutenant K. Stewart Mackenzie, of her majesty's 90th regiment, doing duty as military secretary to the commander-in-chief, having volunteered his services to perform the duty of aide-de-camp to the gallant major.

This division of men were to be landed by the steamers and boats of the line-of-battle ships, and frigates of the squadron, at the watering-place at Chuenpee; while the starboard division, consisting of Calliope, Hyacinth, Larne, and steamers Queen, Enterprise, Madagascar, and Nemesis, under the orders of Captain Herbert, were to proceed

to attack Shakoo, and the new Chuenpee fort. The port division, comprised of the Samarang, Druid, Modeste, and Columbine, under the direction of Captain Scott, were to attack Ty-cock-tow, the line-of-battle ships remaining at their anchorage until the return of the boats, when they would move up preparatory to the attack on the other defences.

The boats and steamers having started with the troops, the ships got under weigh to take up their position. The Hyacinth, being the advance ship of the starboard division, soon opened her fire on Shakoo, in which she was ably supported by the Calliope and Larne, as they came up, the Queen at the same time throwing shells into the upper battery, in which she was assisted by the Nemesis, as soon as the troops were landed. This was effected without the slightest opposition; two companies of marines, under Captain Ellis, forming the advance, the guns following them, with the rest of the force in quarter distant column.

After a march of about two hours, which had been much retarded from the heavy nature

of the ground causing great delay to the artillery, the troops reached the summit of the ridge, from which situation the whole Chinese positions were exposed to view These consisted of the hill fort, with a strongly entrenched camp immediately below it, having a palisaded breastwork round it, with a deep and broad dry ditch; both of which were continued up the north-west side of the hill, connecting it with and protecting the watch-tower fort. On each side of the camp were two field-batteries flanking it, and facing the direction in which an enemy would be likely to approach.

In the valley to the right, and eastward of the chief camp, there was a second fort, with a large mound, on which three guns were placed, three more being mounted on a flanking battery; and to the eastward of all these was a third circular fort, with similar batteries defending its approaches.

Altogether it was a very strong and formidable position; and had it been garrisoned by European troops, would have cost us many lives in the capture. In the rear of

all the guns, deep ditches were dug for the men to shelter themselves in from our fire. These positions were all thickly crowded with troops, of which there must have been between two and three thousand.

As our troops appeared on the top of the ridge, the Chinese loudly defied them, waving their flags, and beating gongs, opening a fire from their numerous guns, which was quickly returned by the field-pieces as they got into position. The advance guard of the marines having gallantly cleared the ridge to the right, descended to the valley, driving the enemy from his outward intrenchments and field-works; while two companies of the 37th Madras native infantry, under Captains Bedingfield and Wardroper, supported by a third Under-Lieutenant Hadfield, of the same corps, circled round the hill further to the right, where the Chinese still offered much resistance to their opponents, which the gallantry of the sepoys soon overcame, driving all before them.

The fire of the Chinese having slackened, the main body of the British force descended

and entered the entrenched camps, its defenders flying before them into Shakoo.

Major Pratt advanced up the hill to the watch tower, which was still held by the Chinese; but on the muskets of the first two marines who reached it being discharged the Chinese took to their heels, and the British colours were quickly substituted for the celestial. A large body of the enemy were formed in the Shakoo fort, the guns of which were previously silenced by the ships, which had now ceased firing for fear of injuring our men advancing in the rear.

The enemy perceiving that their pursuers above were descending on them, and that the boats of the squadron were approaching, fled to the eastward, where they came full upon the marines and sepoys, who had previously been sent round the foot of the hill, when the quick volleys they threw in told fatally amidst the densely-crowded Chinese, numbers of whom fell. The rest rushed back to the fort for safety, shutting the gates, and locking themselves in. The gates, however, were quickly blown open by the muskets of

their pursuers, who, as they entered, dealt death on all sides. The blue jackets scaling and entering the fort at the opposite end, resistance became useless, and about one hundred asked for, and received, quarter.

The remainder locked themselves into sheds and out-houses, seizing every opportunity of firing from them upon their victors when they thought they were not perceived. This drew down on them indiscriminate slaughter. In many cases they betook themselves to the water, and attempted to fire at our men; failing in which they would ask for quarter, but in these cases rarely obtained it.

The Hie-tae, or brigadier Chin Leenshing*, fell at his post, being shot through the breast, when trying to rally his men. His son, a gallant young fellow, finding his father dead, and himself unhurt, sooner

* Leenshing was, in the latter part of the previous year, called from Leenchow to drive the barbarians from Hong Kong. He had, by his bravery, risen from the ranks to a blue button and peacock's feather, for his services against the insurgent mountain tribes in the interior.

than yield, leaped into the water. I fear he perished."

"Many of the mandarins sustained the character of brave men; and on the whole the Chinese troops stood better here than they did on any subsequent occasion in this river. They were principally Tartars, and the *élite* of the troops. Besides, it may be observed, they knew not the disposition of the foes they were contending with; fancying that death or slavery would follow after capture. The commodore's wise measure of releasing the prisoners had its after effect.

The loss of the Chinese could not have been under six hundred slain, while we had not one killed, and only about thirty wounded, many of whom were hurt through the blowing up of magazines; no precaution having been taken with them, as they resembled the common houses. One such instance occurred to Mr. (now Lieutenant) Vyner, mate of the Blenheim, who, seeing a Chinese soldier run into and lock the door of what appeared a barrack, fired his pistol through the keyhole, when instantly an explosion took place,

severely scorching that officer and several of his men.

TROOPS ENGAGED AT THE ASSAULT OF THE ENTRENCHED CAMP AT CHUENPEE, UNDER MAJOR PRATT, OF HER MAJESTY'S 26TH REGIMENT.

| | |
|---|---|
| Royal Artillery under Captain Knowles - | 33 |
| Seamen from line-of-battle ships, under Lieutenant Wilson, R.N. . . . . | 137 |
| Detachments of 26th and 49th Regiments, under Major Johnstone of the 26th. . | 104 |
| Royal marine battalion, under Captain Ellis, R.M.; Her Majesty's ship Wellesley . | 504 |
| 37th Madras Native Infantry, under Captain Duff, of that corps . . . | 607 |
| Detachment of Bengal Volunteers, under Captain Bolton . . . . . | 76 |
| Total force . | 1461 |

The moment it was perceived that the forts were silenced, Captain Belcher, accompanied by Lieutenant Kellett of the Starling, who had charge of the steamers, proceeded in the Nemesis with several boats of the south-westward division, under Lieutenants Watson of the Calliope, Harrison of the Larne, and Stewart of the Hyacinth, to attack eleven war-junks which were at anchor in Anson's Bay. The first rocket fired

from the Nemesis passed through the side of a junk into her magazine, when she blew up with a most tremendous explosion, hurling her unfortunate crew in the air, not one of whom escaped; and very shortly the whole flotilla of junks were either shattered to pieces or burnt. Five thousand dollars were said to have been on board these vessels, this being the 15th of the moon, or the Chewa pay day. Poor wretches! how many of them were paid in a different coin!

Having finished her work in the bay, the Nemesis proceeded up a creek, hooked on to two junks secured to the shore, and dragged them away without firing a shot, to the utter astonishment of the Chinese, who he-yawed at so large a vessel having the power of coming into such shoal water. And some of them subsequently acknowledged their astonishment in the following language,—"He-yaw! how can! my never see *devil-ship* so fashion before; can go all same man walkee." The latter part of the observation was caused by its being high water at the time, which enabled her to pass along

the beach were they were in the habit of walking at low water.

I must now follow the movements of the four ships which had attacked Ty-cock-tow. The Samarang leading and working up rather to westward of the point of attack, bore up, and bringing her broadside to bear on the fort dropped her anchor within two hundred yards of the centre of it, from which a spirited fire was kept up. The Druid having to wait for her boats, which were employed landing the troops, the Modeste passed her, and standing right in for the battery, brought up close on the in-shore, or starboard-bow of the Samarang, opening a fire as her broadside bore on the object.

The Druid and Columbine quickly taking up positions astern of the Samarang. Terrific were the effects of the concentrated broadside of the Druid's long guns, whole masses of masonry falling before them. So excellent was the firing from the ships, that the flag-staff of this fort was cut away by a single shot. The buildings of the fort were soon in ruins, and its defenders were es-

caping by tens and dozens at a time through holes that our shot had made in the walls, the gates having been all securely locked, for the double purpose of keeping them in and us out.

Perceiving that the fort was now nearly silenced, the boats of the Samarang and Modeste landed under the south end of the wall, when Mr. Luard, mate of the former ship, and myself, scrambled through the breach in the wall, which was little more than a hole three feet square, and about the same distance from the ground, out of which two long and ugly-looking spears were thrust, but a grimace from my companion was quite sufficient to frighten the holders of them, who bolted; then running along the platform, we drove about thirty Chinamen before us, so excessive was their panic. They rushed up the face of the hill to a postern-gate, but it was secured, and having thus exposed themselves to the ships, a charge of grape from one of the Columbine's guns dropped three or four of their number, and sent the rest rushing down towards us, and, as I sup-

posed, with the intention of an attack. Therefore covering the foremost with my pistol, I snapped it, when it refused fire, and I found the cap had fallen off the nipple. So far it was fortunate; for the poor fellow, who was not more than three or four yards from me, who instead of elevating his match-lock for the purpose of having a shot, as I thought, at me, was only doing so, that he might throw it away, and escape the faster. All this occurred in a much shorter time than I have been writing it.

The boats' crews were now pressing along the platform, and several more fell from the fire of their muskets, which I ordered to cease and the men to fall in. Just then the Druid's and Columbine's boats landed at the north end of the fort; the distance they had to pull, being greater, prevented them, much to their chagrin, from entering the battery until it was in our possession.

Several wounded and dead men were lying about, and some poor miserable fellows were produced from the ruins of the cantonments, who remained on their knees with their fore-

heads touching the ground, during the operation of destroying the guns, which was performed by breaking off the trunnions, and ramming a shot down their bores with wet canvass round it. One of our prisoners having very long nails* was suspected to be a mandarin, and was, therefore, sent a prisoner to the ship.

The magazine was one of the common buildings with several thousand pounds of coarse powder in it, packed in wooden tubs and earthen jars. The whole of it was thrown into the sea; for though the proportions in Chinese powder are very nearly ours, it is a most inferior article. The guns were very long Chinese twelve and twenty-four-pounders, with the exception of two carronades, evidently old English ship guns. Their carriages were of the most ordinary description, only a few of them having trucks, the others being merely beds of wood

* The upper orders in China never cut the nails of the hands, the length of which show the freedom from work. I have frequently seen the nails of the little fingers an inch and a half in length.

on which the guns rested. The ginjals were much superior pieces, mounted on swivels, and carrying a ball of from ten to twelve ounces. Before setting the buildings on fire, large collections of arms, banners, and shields* were made and sent off to the ships.

The force having completed the day's work, now assembled round the line-of-battle ships, which were at anchor in the centre of the river. The whole of the fighting did not continue more than one hour and a half. The Chinese lost about twenty killed, and, no doubt, many wounded, our loss being very inconsiderable. Their sufferings, however, must have been horrible; numbers of

* These shields are circular, and about three feet in diameter. They are made of rattan or cane, in a Flemish coil, laced together with strips of bamboo, the outside being painted with a frightful representation of a tiger's face, with a small tuft of red hair attached to the centre. They are proof against the cut of a sword; and their owners seemed to think that they were also proof against a bullet; for on seeing a musket pointed at them, they would bob down behind it for protection. I observed many of the fugitives from Ty-cock-tow with their shields carefully suspended over their backs as they ran the gauntlet of our fire.

them, when they were wounded, falling on their matchlocks, the lighted match of which speedily set fire to their thickly cotton-padded dresses. Thus many of them were literally burnt alive, and several were blown up by their own cartridge-boxes, which, containing twelve small wooden tubes filled with loose powder, were worn in front of their bodies.

My *Chinese friends* at Macao, who used to say, "Can secure you no can takee that Bogue," got out of it by "He-yaw that smallo piece fort; no can doey other pigeon," but when other pigeon was done, they were silenced, and heard of it with dismay.

Our prisoner being sent to the flag-ship, proved to be the Medico of the fort. Captain Elliot hoping that the severe example made would bring the Chinese to reason, dispatched this man as a messenger to our old friend Kwan, who commanded at the Anunghoy forts, with a letter, explaining the usages of civilized warfare, and adding, that if the forts did not hoist their colours on the next day, they would not be fired at. How far this was politic or deserved by the Chi-

nese, their subsequent perfidious conduct has proved. The force, should, I presume to think, have gone straight on, levelling all before it, until it arrived at the city of Canton.

Early on the morning of the 8th, Captains Eyres and Clarke visited the fort and scene of action at Chuenpee, which they described as a most horrible sight; the dead in many places actually lying in heaps. During their ramble they found many wounded Chinese, who were brought out by their directions and laid on beds. One poor fellow was more than half buried in the ruins of a magazine; Captain Eyres quickly set his boat's crew to work, had him dug out, and water given to him. By the afternoon he was able to walk away from this field of blood.

Our ship's companies were all in the highest spirits, expecting soon to be employed in attacking the larger forts. Never were men in better humour for a fight. The taste of yesterday had put the most lethargic on their metal; and our hopes appeared likely to be fulfilled, when, as mid-day approached, the

line-of-battle ships weighed, and proceeded towards the Anunghoy forts. The Blenheim, in tow of the Queen, had nearly got into position; and the Nemesis and rocket boats had already opened their fire. The small craft, which had been appointed to cut away the chains, or act as their service might be required, were hove short with their capstans manned, when to the astonishment of all hands, the hateful white flag was hoisted on board the Wellesley, accompanying the signal to discontinue the action. For some time there had been no colours at Anunghoy, and they were now hauled down at North Wangtong.

The mystery was soon solved. An old woman, accompanied by an *elderly gentleman*, sculled off a tanka boat, bringing a letter from Kwan to Captain Elliot, asking a truce of three days, while he communicated with the imperial commissioner.

This was acceded to, and the answer conveyed back by Lieutenant W. Maitland, of the Wellesley, which officer had an interview with Kwan, by whom he was most politely

received. Lieutenant Maitland informed him that he must discontinue all further hostile preparations, to which he readily assented; but said he dared not surrender the forts; that they were desirous for peace, but prepared for war; and if we were able we might come and take them.

To describe the chagrin of the army and navy on this occasion is beyond the powers of my pen, and can be much easier imagined than described.

The Samarang, Hyacinth, and Columbine, were now sent to Chuenpee, Captain Scott being appointed temporary commandant of that place, where the British colours continued to fly. The crews of the ships, with artillerymen, were employed in blowing up and destroying the forts.

On the 9th, it was perceived that the Chinese were hard at work throwing up an entrenched camp above Anunghoy, in which work they were immediately stopped, and informed that no military operations of any description could be permitted during a cessation of hostilities.

The Modeste proceeded off Ty-cock-tow, and all the afternoon was busily passed in breaking down the parapet wall with crow-bars and pick-axes. This parapet was composed of sand and pounded granite, with a sufficient quantity of lime to make it unite. It was about four feet thick, and no splinters or chips were thrown from it,—the shot either burying themselves, or passing clean through it. We recovered a great many from the walls, and by digging them out of the side of the hill.

While this duty was going forward, a Chinaman came to beg the body of a relative who had fallen in the defence of the fort: his request was of course complied with. He came attended by an old man, and evinced great distress, carrying in his hand, during the removal of the body, a bundle of burning joss-stick. The old mandarin at Chuenpee, before spoken of, succeeded in saving his life, but left his cap and button behind him. He now sent a most humble request for it, and to his great delight succeeded in recovering it. The value of a red button varies from

one to five hundred dollars according to whether it is a solid piece of coral or not.

Captain Belcher in the Nemesis, with the boats of the Sulphur and Starling, was busily employed all this day surveying the passage to the westward of North Wangtong. In the meantime the demolition of the forts proceeded, the Columbine having joined us from Chuenpee. During the operations previously described, the casualties on our side had not been very great, as the following list shows:—

Lieutenant, Bower, Samarang, wounded in the knee slightly.

Mr. Viney, Mate, H.M.S. Blenheim } burnt by an
Asst. Sur. M'Pherson, 37th M.N.I. } explosion.

2nd. Lieut. White, R.M. .......... wounded slightly.
Royal Artillery .................. 1 slightly.
Royal Marines ...... 2 sergeants, 10 privates, severely.
18th Royal Irish ................ 2 slightly.
37th M.N.I. ........ 2 havildars 10 privates severely.
Do. ........... 1 naique .......... severely.
Do. ...................... 2 privates slightly.
H.M.S. Calliope ................. 1 seaman severely.
Samarang ................ 1 boy do.
Hyacinth. ................ 2 seamen severely.
Do .................. 3 do. slightly.

Total. 38.

In the course of these operations I had my right leg badly fractured by the explosion of a mine, and was, by the advice of the medical officers, removed to Macao. The commodore, Sir Gordon Bremer, in the kindest and most handsome manner, placed the Louisa cutter at my disposal. I must take this opportunity of expressing to him, Captain Charles Elliot, and my brother officers, my most sincere thanks for their kindness and sympathy to me on this trying occasion; doubly trying, inasmuch as it was expected the ships would go again into action in a few days.

It was with a heavy heart I was hoisted over the ship's side on the morning of the 11th. I would not even then have left, had it not been for the great inconvenience my remaining would have occasioned Captain Eyres, who in the kindest manner allowed me the use of his cabin; besides which, I should have been utterly useless on board.

I will not trouble the reader with the days of suffering I endured, but at once return

with him to the fleet, which continued at the same anchorage for about a fortnight, during which preliminary arrangements were going on.

In Keshen's first letter after the action he blamed Captain Elliot for what he called "precipitancy and madness" in attacking the forts, the issue of which he knew not how to represent to the emperor. "How can I," he writes, "report such rebellious proceedings to my imperial master." Still Keshen thought it requisite to carry on his farce, and on the 21st, finally agreed to the following preliminary arrangements:—

1st. The cession of the island and harbour of Hong Kong to the British crown. All port charges and duties to the empire upon the commerce carried on there, to be paid as if the trade were conducted at Whampoa.

2nd. An indemnity to the British Government of six million of dollars, one million payable at once, and the remainder in equal annual instalments, ending in 1846.

3rd. Direct official intercourse between the countries upon equal footing.

4th. The trade of the port of Canton to be opened within ten days after the Chinese new year, and to be carried on at Whampoa till further arrangements are practicable at the new settlement.

In consequence of these conditions, the squadron proceeded to Hong Kong on the 21st, the Chinese evincing the utmost anxiety to get the ships out of the inner waters. Captain Scott remained with the Samarang to surrender his government of Chuenpee to the Chinese, the Anunghoy forts being allowed to rehoist their colours at the same time.

A mandarin came off, and arrangements were made that the British colours should be hauled down, and the Chinese then permitted to hoist their colours, and that mutual salutes should be fired at the same time. All this was punctually performed; on proceeding to the flag-staff, the mandarin was dreadfully disconcerted at the ruined state of the forts, and as he considered it entirely the effect of our shots, saw how futile were their attempts at resistance. However,

on the Chinese colours being hoisted, his joy exceeded all bounds, and he chin-chinned with the greatest delight at once more gaining this most important position, the Gibraltar, or key of the river.

During the period the fleet was off the Anunghoy forts, one of the large rafts was by the force of the ebb-tide broken from the chains which crossed the river, and drifted down towards the Wellesley, by whose boats it was secured astern of that ship. Kwan, as soon as he perceived it, dispatched an officer off with about sixty men to bring it back. This he was not permitted to do, when he stated that he dared not go back without it, as his head would be taken off if he did for disobedience of orders. A letter was then given to him, stating that he could not be allowed to take possession of it, with which he prepared to go away apparently satisfied, when a new dilemma had arisen. His men had got on the raft and struck work, declaring they would remain where they were, and not return to their mandarins. This was a worse state of things than the

other, and the poor fellow departed in a small boat, declaring that he and his family would all be punished for his supposed delinquency. The men remained on the raft for about thirty-six hours, during which time they supported themselves with food given them by the Wellesley's crew, and a few things they purchased out of the bum-boats. They eventually landed at different places on the banks of the river. How useful their services might have been to us, could we have foreseen the after movements!

During all the previous and subsequent intercourse with Keshen, the medium of communication was Paoupang, the compradore before alluded to. He was a shrewd, clever fellow, about forty-five years of age, and spoke the lingua franca fluently. On one of his trips to Macao, he had visited his old master, Mr. Dent, and then went to see his late fellow-servants, who very soon began to jeer him on his increased consequence, when jumping up with his right arm extended, and hand clenched, he thus broke forth:—"You thinkee my one smallo man? you thinkee

my go buy one catty rice, one catty fowl? No! my largo man, my have catchee peace, my have catchee war my hand, suppose I opee he, makee peace, suppose I shutee he, must makee fight." It loses much in relating: the fellow's manner must be seen to be understood.

One of the captains who spoke this mongrel language well, used to amuse himself in tormenting this worthy. One method of which was calling a little ugly Chinese dog by the name of Keshen, on which he would fly off, "I go talkee that Elliot, that commodore, you have called one dog Keshen." I must proceed, or I could relate hundreds of such anecdotes.

As it was part of the terms that Chusan was to be evacuated by the British troops, and that the Chinese should surrender the prisoners in their possession at Ning-po, the Columbine, Captain Clarke, on the 23rd was dispatched to that island with the necessary directions. Keshen forwarded at the same time over land a duplicate order from the British commander-in-chief; it being feared

that the brig might have a very long passage, indeed many of the masters of the clippers thought she could not effect the passage at all. But, to the astonishment of every one, she performed it in fifteen or sixteen days; arriving at Chusan on the 10th of February, three hours only after the overland despatch.

The plenipotentiary and commodore now became actively engaged in making arrangements for the settlement of Hong Kong, and a proclamation (Appendix C) was issued by the former for the better guarantee of her majesty's subjects; at the same time a joint proclamation was put forth to the inhabitants of the island, which will be seen in Appendix D.

The native bazaar had been removed from Toong-koo, and was established on the north side of Hong Kong, when a military police or provost-marshalship was instituted from the Modeste, who had charge of the bazaar, to prevent the sale of shamsoo to the soldiers or sailors; and to the same effect a notice in Chinese had been stuck up in the bazaar. This police consisted of a mate, corporal, and two marines; the commanding

officer of the ship attending at the head Chinaman's house every morning with his "lictor," *i.e.*, boatswain's-mate, when after inquiring fully, by the assistance of a native interpreter, into any complaint, he caused corporal or other punishment to be inflicted. None of the Chinese ever stood more than six blows with the cat, when they invariably fainted from sheer fright. After the first case or two it was rarely requisite to resort to this method.

The Danaïde, Captain Rosamel, a French corvette, had been some days in Macao roads, and her captain obtained a sort of half leave from Captain Elliot to proceed with her to Chuenpee. On this being communicated to the commodore, it became at once apparent to him, that it was improper he should be permitted to do so, the blockade still being in force, the Modeste was instantly dispatched after her to inform Captain Rosamel that his ship could not be permitted to proceed further, to which he submitted, returning to Toong-koo on the 26th.

On the 27th an interview took place between Captain Elliot and Keshen at

Second Bar pagoda, where a handsome Chinese breakfast was served up; and Captain Elliot and his suite, which consisted of many of the officers of the squadron, attended by a guard of honour furnished from the marines, were received with all due honours and splendidly entertained, but nothing definite was arranged. At a future meeting it was settled that the final treaty should be prepared and sent up to Canton, for Keshen's signature and imperial seal, which we suppose to be what the Chinese term Kwan-fang. This seal had been committed to the hands of a subject only twice before, previously to Lin being intrusted with it in 1839*.

It was further agreed, that the batteries of Cowloon should be dismantled; but the mandarin, being called on some days afterwards to comply with this agreement, replied that he had no orders on the subject.

On the 7th of February, in consequence of

* The first time to the general who commanded in the campaign against the Burmese, and lost his head for his failure; and the second time to Chang-ling, who subdued Chang-ki-hurk, the famous Mahomedan insurgent.

a representation to Keshen of this refusal, he requested permission to move the guns from Cowloon by water, as they could not, he asserted, be removed by land. This was false, for they had been brought there by land; but the truth was, they wanted to mount them in the First Bar battery where they were afterwards found.

Notwithstanding Captain Elliot's public and constant declaration of Keshen's "scrupulous good faith," rumours became very prevalent of the warlike intentions of the Chinese. The emperor's edict had arrived, denouncing our attack at the Bogue; Keshen was directed to take Lin and Tang into his counsel; and many thousand troops were ordered to concentrate at Canton; the forts at Anunghoy and Wangtong were being strengthened; junks were sunk in many places in the river, and the banks in every part fortified; yet were we incredulous!

The Chinese at Macao ridiculed the power of Keshen, in giving away Hong Kong; indeed they maintained that his celestial majesty himself had no right to dismember

the empire. They often said, "Suppose Emperor do that pigeon, he lose face."

On the 15th, Keshen's double-dealing became more apparent; for it had been arranged that the trade should be opened on the 1st, and the treaty finally sealed on the 20th. All this no doubt was cunningly arranged by Keshen, to allow of Chusan being evacuated and troops gathered at Canton, before he threw off his mask. Appendix E will fully prove the bad faith and duplicity of this statesman.

The Nemesis was dispatched to the Bogue with Paoupang, the confidential agent of Keshen, who was charged with the definitive treaty for the signature of that dignitary. Mr. Hall was directed to wait a certain number of days for his return, and should he not then have arrived, within the given period, to hasten back to Macao.

The appointed time having expired, and the messenger not having returned, the steamer made the best of her way back. While at the anchorage off the Bogue, Mr. Hall approached in his boat the fort of Wang-

tong, with a flag of truce flying, and was fired at from the batteries; the Chinese thus putting all question of their treachery beyond a doubt.

The same evening Paoupang arrived at Macao in a chop-boat, announcing Keshen's refusal to sign the treaty, and demanding ten days more to consider it. But we were no longer to be blinded; and Captain Elliot replied, that having found fair means fail, he should now resort to others for carrying on negotiations.

Sir Gordon Bremer fortunately being at Macao for a few days, dispatched a flying squadron, consisting of the Calliope, Samarang, Herald, and Sulphur, under Captain Herbert, of the first-named ship, to obstruct the enemy's works at the Bogue; and he himself immediately proceeded to Hong Kong. The Praya Granda, at this time, exhibited a most unusual scene of bustle; numerous officers being at Macao on leave, who were hurrying off to their respective ships.

The Alligator had arrived from Chusan

on the 15th, and the remainder of the force was hourly expected. So completely had Keshen thrown dust in our eyes, that the Bengal volunteers had been ordered to proceed direct to Sincapore without touching at Macao. I know not that this was much to be regretted; for, though brave fellows, they have such numerous prejudices, arising from their high caste, that they were most difficult troops to manage in such an expedition. At Chusan they made a most serious complaint against a midshipman, for ordering a bullock to be killed near their encampment.

An old Indian surgeon told me that his servant had literally died in consequence of his prejudices. He was sick in one of the hospital-ships, and was ordered chicken broth, but would not touch it, because beef soup was prepared for the English in the same place and the steam of it might have passed, or mixed with that of his!

By unwearied exertions the squadron and transports were under weigh for the Bogue on the morning of the 22nd; it being found

requisite to haul the flag down at Hong Kong, during the contemplated operations up the river, as it was impossible to spare a sufficient number of troops from our small force to garrison it. The bamboo town, like a flying camp, therefore flitted to Saw-chow, off which island the Jupiter was stationed.

Every one must feel convinced that all peaceable methods had been used to bring the Chinese to their senses, and that now there was no alternative but decided war.

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# CHAPTER II.

## FIRST ATTACK OF CANTON.

Light squadron proceeds off the Bogue—Capture of Battery—Modeste captures Junks—Arrival of Force—New Defences—Artillery Landed—Appearance of hills at night—Amusing Stratagems—Howitzers open Fire—Attack of Anunghoy—The Run—Wangtong—Little Ty-cock—Kwan's Body—Minute Guns—Wangchung's Body found—Light Squadron proceeds up the River—Battle at First Bar—Death of Mandarin—Single Combat—Chesapeake Burnt—Capture of Howqua's Folly—Suspension of Hostilities—Rebel quelling Generals—Capture of Napier's Fort—Chusan Force rejoin—All in the mud—Modeste proceeds off Tay-wang-kow—Mr. Kellet and Mandarin—Chinese break the Truce—Capture of Tay-wang-kow—Nemesis passes up the Broadway—Nemesis joins Advance Squadron—Flag of Truce fired on—Captain Hay cuts Raft away—Capture of Garden Battery—Flotilla Destroyed—Jack re-hoisted at the Factories—Suspension of Hostilities—Teas—Station of Squadron—Two Officers Murdered—Murder of Mr. Stead—Columbine proceeds to Chusan.

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There is dust on the swords of the yellow Chinese;
The red-buttoned Kwanfoos with horror will freeze,
And the wide lands of Chathay with terror are dumb,
When the winds of the south roar—"The Britons are come."

THE advance squadron under the command of Captain (now Sir Thomas) Herbert,

arrived off the Bogue on the 19th of February, the defences of which had been daily increasing by the erection of sand-bag batteries. This squadron, which consisted of the Calliope, Samarang, Herald, Alligator, Sulphur, and steamer Nemesis, did not remain idle; but from information extracted from a prisoner (remarkable enough our Ty-cocktow medical friend, before spoken of), was enabled to make several attacks on the advance points of the enemy's position.

One of these took place on the 23rd. The Nemesis towing the boats of the division proceeding up the creek, which, passing at the back of Anunghoy, discharges itself into Anson's Bay. Here, under the protection of a masked battery and strong field-works, the Chinese were stockading this branch of the river, and blocking it up. On opening the stockade, the boats were received with a heavy fire, but immediately dashed on to the attack, quickly routed the enemy, and destroyed the whole of the military material, amongst which were eighty pieces of cannon of different calibre. The Chinese had

masked their battery remarkably well, and the first evidence the boats had of its proximity was a discharge of round and grape from it. The piles of the stockade which were driven into the river were then lashed to the Nemesis, and her steam being put on, they were torn out of their holes.

This most effective piece of service was performed in about two hours, without the slightest injury on our side. The loss of the Chinese was not ascertained. Captain Elliot accompanied this party, being on board the Nemesis, and was most active during the whole of the operations; but surely it was hardly wise for our plenipotentiary to expose himself in the daring manner Captain Elliot always did.

The Modeste, which was dispatched up the river to reinforce the light division, detained on her way several deeply-laden junks, and took them to Ty-cock-tow, where they remained until the capture of the Bogue itself, when they were sent to Saw-chow, remaining there till they were released at the ransom of Canton.

Owing to the calmness of the weather, the progress of the fleet was much retarded, though the steamers rendered every possible assistance in towing them. It was the 25th before the whole force arrived, which, in addition to the light squadron, consisted of the Wellesley, Blenheim, Melville, Druid, and steamers Queen and Madagascar, with four transports.

Since the previous description of the Bogue, its defences had been much increased. Several strong sand-bag batteries had been erected on the south end of Anunghoy; another on its north-west side flanking the north-west face of North Wangtong, which had been strengthened by earthen and sand batteries, uniting the double fortifications on its eastern side, close to which was the custom-house, with a battery, *à fleur d'eau* on its western side,, while many others were erected along its southern face. The whole of these were commanded by a small hill fort. A strong encampment of troops about two thousand, in addition to those required to man the works, stretched from the western

fort round the hill fort, and towards the upper custom-house fort. The whole of these batteries were neatly and well constructed, and the capture of them must have cost us a heavy loss, had the courage of their defenders been equal to their strength.

It is most extraordinary that, while making North Wangtong so very strong, the Chinese should entirely have overlooked the key of their positions,—South Wangtong. At that island, on the afternoon of the 25th, a landing was effected of three howitzers, with the requisite ammunition, and a detachment of the royal and Madras artillery, under the command of that cool-headed and gallant officer, Captain Knowles, of the first-named corps, who, during the heavy fire that was kept up on his position, leaned with his elbow on the sand-bags of his field-work, directing his party to fire a little higher or lower as he perceived the shells to take effect.

A guard of one hundred and fifty of the 37th Madras native infantry, under Captain Wardroper of that corps, was landed

with the artillery. This landing was most beautifully managed, under the able superintendence of the late Sir Le Fleming Senhouse. The Nemesis having towed the troop-boats in, took up a berth nearly sheltered from the fire of Anunghoy and the western or Little Ty-cock fort, when backing out, she gave it to the latter with her stern gun, while she played on the former from her bow. The shot fell around and near her without doing the slightest injury, while the batteries at North Wangtong could make nothing of it, their shot falling a long way outside of her.

The position occupied by the landing party was about the centre of the island, where two hills formed a slight hollow.

Part of the night of the 25th was spent in placing the guns in position; the enemy's forts keeping up an incessant fire on them the whole time, but without any casualty, though the sand-bags were considerably cut up by the shot.

The neighbouring heights of Anunghoy and Timaon had a beautiful appearance, being

covered with encampments of troops, when thousands of lanterns were lit up as the day closed in. Signal guns were fired by them through the night, when the lanterns were waved as an answer to show that their owners were on the alert.

On the few previous days during which the light squadron had been at anchor off Anson's Bay, the Chinese resorted to all kinds of stratagems to multiply their numbers in our eyes. The farce of the signal guns every quarter of an hour was a nightly occurrence.

Near the Anunghoy fort was a circular hill, the base of which they could march round, being lost to our view for some little time and while entering the fort. Companies of these doughty heroes, dressed in different uniforms, kept continually marching round and round the hill; thus multiplying themselve in our eyes, as they supposed, to an indefinite number; but their shallow artifice was soon discovered.

As the day dawned on the 26th, a spirited fire from the howitzers opened on North

Wangtong, the shells falling with great precision; consequently the buildings and wooden huts under the custom-house fort were speedily on fire, while great havock was committed in the encampment, which induced the Chinese troops quickly to retire to their forts, where the slaughter became awfully great.

It had been arranged that an attack simultaneously with that of the artillery, should be commenced by the ships; but a dead calm and adverse tide prevented them from moving until nearly half-past eleven. This movement was no sooner perceived by the "lion-hearted" Tartars on North Wangtong, than numbers of them fled to their boats, some few crossing to North Anunghoy; but the greater number considering "discretion the better part of valour," wisely proceeded up the river.

It subsequently appeared that these valiant runaways were the mandarins and officers who locked their unfortunate troops into the forts previous to abandoning them. The troops enraged at being thus dastardly forsaken, turned their guns upon the miscreants,

but I am sorry to say, as far as could be seen, without much effect.

The Blenheim, Melville, Queen steamer, and three rocket-boats in charge of Lieutenant Pearse, of the Blenheim, proceeded to the attack of Anunghoy. The Queen and rocket-boats keeping a little into Anson's Bay, the former about noon opened the ball, throwing a shell with good effect into the sand-bag battery. It still being nearly calm, the ships got into position slowly. The hills above Anunghoy and stretching far inland were covered with large bodies of the enemy's troops, posted at every commanding point, protected by sand-bag batteries, while on the opposite side of the river, on the ridge of the Timoan hills, the enemy also appeared in great force

The Blenheim, coolly ranging up without returning a single shot to the brisk fire she was exposed to from the batteries, clewed up and dropped her stern anchor within about six hundred yards of South Anunghoy fort, opening her starboard broadside as the guns would bear. In about five minutes the

Melville, approaching in the same quiet and gallant style, passed close on the port side of the Blenheim, and took up an admirable position within about four hundred yards of the fort, and a short way a-head of that ship, when she poured in her broadsides in quick succession. The firing of these ships was most splendid: nothing could withstand their deadly aim, though the Chinese in South Anunghoy and the sand batteries stood well to their guns for some time, probably caused by the presence of Kwan. One or two shot were sufficient for the "dragon-hearted" defenders of the north fort, who, "*letting*" off their guns, fled up the hills.

The run becoming general, many tried to escape round the base of the hill towards a little village in Anson's Bay, in doing which they became exposed to the Blenheim's broadside, when numbers fell. Finding this fire too hot to allow them to escape along the beach, they took to the water, crawling along on all fours, and bobbing their heads under, as they saw the flash of the guns; but escaping Scylla they fell into Charybdis, for

they had no sooner got clear of the ships, than they became exposed to the rocket-boats, the discharge from which followed the poor wretches into the village. Truly it was an awful day for the black-haired race of Han.

Sir Le F. Senhouse now landed with about three hundred men, composed of the marines and seamen of the ships, and cleared the forts of their few remaining defenders, who made a faint attempt at resistance, but were soon sent scampering after their comrades. Thus, by half-past one the British colours were waving over the boasted strength of China.

The loss of the Chinese in the fort was not so great as might have been imagined from the heavy broadside of the line-of-battle ships, which had reduced the walls to ruins. Not above twelve were killed, amongst whom was the gallant old Kwan * and his second in command, who had lately become

* The buttonless cap of Kwan became the trophy of one of the young gentlemen of the Melville; a reference to Appendix E. will show that he had been deprived of his button in consequence of the capture of Chuenpee, and it had not since been returned to him.

known to us, he being the individual to whom Chuenpee had been surrendered. These brave men fell shot through the breast, while attempting to lead up their men to repel the storming party.

During the action, one of the boats of the Melville broke adrift, and was set by the tide close under the guns of Anunghoy, when a boat was dispatched, with Commander T. R. Sullivan, who volunteered to bring her back, which service he effected in cool and determined style.

Many guns in these batteries were found fitted with sights, which were upright pieces of metal, having three holes bored for different ranges. Grummet wads were also found in exact imitation of ours. Their chain-shot were particularly good, being a hollow round ball cut in halves, with about eighteen inches of chain attaching them to each other, and coiling in the hollow, so that when the cups are tied together for the purpose of loading, it resembled a cannon-shot. A great quantity of stone-shot for the large guns was also found here.

The magazines in these forts were built with great care, and were completely bomb-proof. They were constructed of granite walls, surrounded and covered over with bags of sand, the whole of which was plastered with white cement: this, when hardened, could not be injured. A shell fell on the roof of one of these magazines, and exploded, without doing the slightest injury.

While the starboard division were thus gallantly doing their work, the port one was not idle, slowly moving up the western channel and led by the Calliope, which fired on Little Ty-cock as she came abreast of it. On rounding the west end of South Wang-tong, she received a heavy fire from the forts on the northern island, but steadily pursuing her course brought up off the north-west face of the fort, and then re-turned the fire with interest from her port broadside. The other ships as they came up ably supported her, and anchored so as to form a circle round the western extremity of North Wangtong from south-east to about north-east. The Wellesley, having Sir

Gordon's broad pennant flying, with the Samarang and Modeste, anchored immediately abreast of North Wangtong, and were thus between two fires, but their starboard broadside soon silenced Little Ty-cock, while the port-guns poured broadside after broadside on the doomed forts of the island.

The firing of the artillery produced a most tremendous roar, the neighbouring hills reverberating the sound until it resembled continued peals of thunder, and announced to the Chinese authorities at First Bar the work of destruction that was going on.

The bombardment at this point lasted for about an hour, when it was perceived, by their slackened fire, that the Chinese had had enough; upon which the Nemesis towed the troops close into the western fort, where a landing was speedily effected under Major Pratt. The force immediately pushed up a steep height in front to the hill fort, where much resistance was expected; but the Tartars' hearts failed them, upon its being escaladed by a party headed by Major Johnson and Captain Moorhead, who

drove all before them. The Chinese, panic-struck, fled down the hill towards the custom-house fort, where they were followed by the whole force, who, forming under it, opened a sharp fire upon them. Hundreds of Chinese now took to the water on spars and pieces of bamboo, making the best of their way up the river, with the flood tide. The remainder crying for quarter received it; and the British colours waved on the strongest hold in Canton River.

The loss of the Chinese on this island amounted to about three hundred killed besides vast numbers wounded. About thirteen hundred were taken prisoners, of whom one hundred were kept on the island to bury the dead, and the remainder were landed in the evening at Ty-cock-tow. For this act they were most grateful, having fully expected that they would have been put to death.

During these operations the Blenheim's main-topmast and fore-yard were shot through, her rigging considerably cut up, one 32-pounder rendered unserviceable, and several shot lodged in her hull. The Mel-

ville's main-topmast was wounded, and her rigging much injured. The Calliope also suffered a good deal in hull and running gear. The plenipotentiary, on board the latter, had a narrow escape while sitting on the hammock nettings, where a shot gave him a very close shave.

The Nemesis, at 4 o'clock, having several boats in tow, with marines, proceeded to the destruction of Little Ty-cock and a field work of seventeen guns which protected an entrenched camp on the neighbouring heights, containing from fifteen hundred to two thousand men. A landing was easily effected, an occasional shot from the Nemesis keeping the Chinese troops on the hill in check; when the marines mounted the heights, and, driving all opposition before them, dispersed the enemy in every direction, setting fire to their camp. This service was effected without a single casualty.

The tents burnt long after dark in a circuit of nearly two miles, forming a brilliant illumination for the deeds of this eventful day, and confirming the sad news to the Chinese

of the destruction of all their vaunted strength. Part of this loss had been witnessed by the Imperial Commissioner Keshen, the ex-governors Tang and Lin, the Fooyuen, the Tseangkeun, and other high officers, all of whom, with the exception of Lin, fled in consternation to Canton.

The day following the action a flag of truce arrived, with a request from the relations of Kwan*, to be allowed to remove his body. It was instantly complied with, but from its not having been known that he had fallen, his body had been interred with others. It was, however, exhumed, and as it was borne away by his sorrowing relatives the Blenheim fired a salute of minute guns; thus proving to the Chinese that a civilized enemy never scruples to show respect to a

* Kwan Teenpei was a descendant of the god of war, Kwan-te. The late admiral's family resides in Keang-ning, the metropolis of Keang-soo, the ancient Nankin. The eldest son is dead; and the second, a youth of eighteen, was ordered, in December, to repair to court immediately the period of mourning is over, that he may receive imperial favours; his mother, now eighty years of age, is immediately to receive a pension from government.—*Chinese Repository.*

valiant foe. On the exhumation of Kwan the body of the notorious Wangchung was recognized, having been killed by a shell, —much too honourable a death for so base a miscreant.

The whole of the forts were subsequently demolished, Wangtong alone being allowed to remain in the state our shot had left it, until some months afterwards it was blown up under the directions of Captain Nias, of the Herald. The line-of-battle ships remained at the Bogue to complete the destruction of the batteries; while the Samarang proceeded to Macao to relieve the Hyacinth.

On the evening after the battle, several Chinese soldiers returned to the fort of Anunghoy; but on the marines landing the following day, about a dozen of them were killed before they were driven out. Skirmishing continued through the whole of that day between the marines posted on the upper fort, the walled area before described, and the Chinese above them.

On the 27th, the light squadron, under the command of Captain Herbert, Calliope;

Herald, Alligator, Sulphur, Modeste, and steamers Nemesis and Madagascar, proceeded up the river, passing Tiger Island without opposition, since it had been already abandoned.

As these ships sped along, the shore was lined with thousands of the inhabitants gazing on the bold barbarians, many of them, no doubt, secretly wishing them success. About noon, the masts of the Chesapeake were seen over the clumps of bamboos and acacias that abound near First Bar.

As the force approached, the long field fortifications facing down the river, and mounting forty-seven heavy guns with flanking batteries, had a most imposing effect; while the rows of snow-white tents, pitched in the neighbouring paddy-fields, indicated the presence of a large body of Tartar troops, their banners gaily fluttering in the wind.

A junk of ten guns and the Chesapeake, now sporting the red flag of a Chinese admiral at the main, and having her poop and tafrail decorated with numerous banners, were moored immediately above the raft which

stretched across the front of this strong position; upwards of forty war-junks being rather further up the river.

As the steamers,* advancing a-head to sound, got within range, the batteries opened their fire, which was vigorously returned with shells and rockets. The Modeste now ranging up came to within three hundred yards of the shore, pouring in destructive broadsides of round and grape. The Calliope anchored immediately a-head of the Modeste and near the bank of the river. The other ships taking up convenient positions as they arrived, joined also in the cannonade.

The enemy made a determined resistance, but could do nothing against the terrific broadsides of the ships; the shells and rockets from the Madagascar and Nemesis taking tremendous effect on the camp, and setting fire to it in many parts.

The Chesapeake, which had opened her fire, soon found the disengaged guns of our ships too much for her, as the shot were ploughing up her decks in every direction;

* Nemesis and Madagascar.

while her crew were to be seen jumping overboard, and making for the shore. The junks, though they made a great deal of noise, took good care to keep out of range.

The seamen and marines were now landed, and the work of destruction was continued; but while our men became somewhat scattered among the tents, the Chinese made an attempt to rally. On the mandarins advancing in front of the men, and brandishing their swords, a few guns from the Calliope checked them, while Lieutenant Stransham, R.M., collecting some men together, completely routed them. One gallant fellow, with a blue button, finding his people would not come on with him, dashed his sword among them, and rushed on the British bayonets. The Chinese force consisted of above two thousand of the *élite* of their troops, of which at least five hundred fell, as they took no quarter.

As the enemy fled before Lieutenant Stransham's party, they attempted to cross a deep branch of the river, in which numbers of them perished, and many were shot.

One of the lads (Turner) belonging to the Modeste had a very gallant single combat with a Chinaman, whom he had followed over a ditch. This man, perceiving that he had only a single antagonist, faced our youngster, who, after a sharp struggle, witnessed by the whole force, succeeded in slaying his foe, amidst the cheers of his shipmates. For his gallant behaviour Captain Eyres instantly gave him a higher rating.

While this was going forward on shore, Lieutenant Watson, of the Calliope, and Mr. Pearse, of the Modeste, with several men, succeeded in launching a boat across the raft, and boarded the Chesapeake. She was quickly carried after a show of resistance by the few of her crew that remained. Her decks were described by Mr. Pearse as resembling in appearance a slaughter-house, so tremendous had been the effect of the ships' broad sides. When captured she had top gallant yards across, sails bent, and the messenger passed all ready for moving. She mounted thirty-four carriage guns, and was altogether well found.

Orders were sent off to the officer to set her on fire, which was accordingly done, and this vessel, filled with stores of every description, was thus rashly burnt, it was said, for the moral effect it would have on the Chinese at Canton. The sight of her burning is described as most magnificent; for shortly after dark her magazine exploded, hurling her vast masts and beams on high, as if they had been mere chips of wood.

The Modeste had two men badly wounded after landing, and one man killed himself in the act of taking his percussion musket out of the boat. The hammer being down caught the thwart, when the piece discharging itself, the ball passed through the poor fellow's head. The ship was much cut up about her rigging, as were several of the rest of the squadron. Lin was said to have been an eye-witness of this action, but hastened away when the day was lost; nor was it for some time afterwards known what had become of him.

The 28th was devoted to removing the raft and sunken junks; for it was resolved to

push on towards Canton, and a steamer was sent down for a reinforcement.

Sir Gordon Bremer arrived with them on the 1st of March, the Queen and Madagascar steamers towing the two transports that had them on board.

All arrangements having been completed, the Sulphur was detached on the 2nd, in tow of three of the Wellesley's boats for the purpose of surveying the branch of the river called Junk-reach, in which many junks were now sunk. As they approached the north-end of Whampoa Island, where the river was intersected by a double row of stakes, with large bamboos and trees between them, a sudden fire was opened from a battery of 25 carriage-guns, admirably masked by the boughs of trees. Lieutenant Richard Symonds, in command of the boats, instantly cut the tow-rope, and jumping on shore with his men made a dash into the battery, which was defended by 250 chosen Tartars. They quickly gave way before this impetuous attack, and fled for shelter to the neighbouring jungle, whence they were instantly dis-

lodged by a few shots from the Sulphur. The guns were then destroyed, and the works and magazine blown up. In this affair the Chinese lost about twenty killed, and the boats had one killed and several wounded.

The passage of the river was then cleared; and a partial survey having been made, the Herald, Alligator, and Modeste, with the transports Eagle and Sophia, moved up within gun-shot of Howqua's Folly. Thus for the first time was a British ship of war seen from the walls of Canton.

This whole service was attended with much fatigue and labour, from the constant obstructions that were found in this river, all of which had to be removed as the vessels advanced.

On the same day Major-General Sir Hugh Gough, the military commander-in-chief, arrived from Madras in her majesty's brig Cruizer, and immediately took command of the troops.

Howqua's Folly being the object of attack, on the 3rd the force advanced for that purpose; but it was found deserted, the enemy

having abandoned their works in the night. The destruction of another raft took place at this point, and the 26th regiment occupied the fort, while Captain Ellis with the marines took possession of a large joss-house on the left bank, which the enemy had commenced fortifying with a five gun new field work.

Howqua and Mowqua, hong merchants, Alingsi, a linguist, the American consul, and a Spanish gentleman, now arrived, and announced that the Kwang-chow-foo was anxious to have an interview with the plenipotentiary; and in about an hour that dignitary arrived in person, with a flag of truce flying in his boat. On finding that only the naval and military commanders-in-chief were on board the Modeste, this blue-buttoned gentleman would not come out of his boat, but proceeded to the Calliope to see Captain Elliot, who agreed to a suspension of hostilities for three days. The higher authorities at Canton having all disappeared, and the newly-appointed commissioners not having arrived, there was no government authorities to treat with; while the greatest

consternation prevailed within the city, and every person who could possibly fly from it had got away. The inhabitants seemed fully to expect that the place would have been captured and sacked.

From Howqua we learnt the confirmation of the report that Keshen had been degraded from all his official appointments, and ordered to be sent in chains to Pekin for trial. E, alias Eleang, the lieutenant-governor, had sent various charges against him*. This man was known to be much under the influence of Lin, by whose policy he had always been guided. He persuaded Keshen, immediately before he resigned, to affix his seal to the new and higher scale of rewards, which was on the 27th of February issued for persons or heads of barbarians. Had Keshen been left to his own policy, he would not so immediately have brought on the collision which ended so fatally to the military and naval force of the province.

It was further learnt from Howqua, that "a rebel-quelling general" and commissioners

* Vide Appendix F.

were appointed by the emperor to proceed to Canton "to expel the rebels, and quiet the province." The names of these commissioners were Yishan, a member of the imperial family, the imperial pacificator of the rebels, and generalissimo; Lungwan, a Tartar general; Yangfang, a guardian of the prince; and Teeshin, the general commanding at Kooynen, in the province of Shense, an old and experienced officer. They were to bring troops to Canton, and control the affairs of the English.

On the afternoon of this day, the Pylades and some transports from Chusan, with the Starling schooner, joined the force at Whampoa.

The armistice granted on the 3rd, expired on the 6th, without any good results. The position is thus described in Sir H. Gough's despatch:—

"A regular half-moon enclosed work of masonry mounting thirty-six guns; at this point the river was again strongly barricaded, connecting Napier Fort with two strong newly-constructed field works, thrown up on

either bank of the river by a planked platform placed over the barricade; these latter works showed embrasures of from forty to fifty guns each."

On the morning of that day, the troops landed on the left bank of the river to attack Napier's Fort and the intrenched camps in its neighbourhood, while the ships and boats proceeded up the river for the same purpose. As the first vessel passed through the Barrier, the Chinese fired off their guns and fled. The crews on landing found the whole of the positions deserted. The British colours were then hoisted, which, being perceived by our troops, they returned to their quarters after a most fatiguing march through the paddy fields, in the mud of which many a boot was unavoidably left. Captain Elliot now addressed a proclamation* to the inhabitants of Canton, and the troops remained in possession of the forts.

The Blonde and Columbine arrived from Chusan on the 6th; and hearing at Hong Kong of what was going on up the river,

* Vide Appendix G.

boldly pushed through the Cap-sing-moon passage to join the advance squadron; but as they were perfect strangers to the river above the Bocca Tigris, they were soon aground after passing that place, being kept in company by several transports that were with them.

Taking the ground, however, at length became such a usual occurrence to all the ships in this river, that it was expected to happen two or three times daily; and lucky was the vessel that could move from one place to the other without this happening.

It was now arranged that the Chinese should cease from all defensive operations, and that trade should proceed; but as nothing definite could be settled until the commissioners arrived, Captain Elliot returned to Macao, the commodore to his own ship, and the troops to Hong Kong, where the flag was again re-hoisted.

Captain Herbert continued to command the advance-squadron assembled at Whampoa, with the exception of the Alligator, which remained off Howqua's Folly, and the Mo-

deste and Starling, whose movements I shall now narrate.

The Modeste was ordered on the 5th to proceed up the Tay-wang-kow passage, and remain off the fort of that name. This passage is entered immediately opposite the village of Whampoa, and runs up on the east side of French Island; whereas Brown's Passage, which was afterwards used, and up which the Blenheim proceeded, passed to the westward of Danes' and French Island.

Through various delays in getting down Junk River, it was the evening of the 7th before the Modeste anchored in the entrance of this passage, up which she proceeded on the 8th. The inhabitants crowded to the banks to witness such an unusual sight, the Modeste being certainly the first *ship* that had ever been seen in this branch of the river, and probably from there being no defences, the Chinese were not aware of the fact of there being sufficient water for her. She anchored at dark about eight miles below the fort of Tay-wang-kow.

The Starling, Lieutenant now Com-

mander Kellet, was at anchor near this point. The next day, accompanied by the Modeste's pinnace, Mr. King, master of that ship, acting as pilot; she proceeded up the river, capturing several fast-boats in her progress. Captain Eyres, who had in his galley accompanied them part of the way, on returning to the ship, lost himself in the labyrinth of canals and branches of the river that extended in every direction, and was at length left by the tide well up in a paddy-field, where he and his boat's crew spent the night.

The schooner and boat having approached pretty near to the fort, the mandarin in command, not admiring their proximity, sent his "chin-chin" to know what they wanted. Mr. Kellet informed his messenger that they wished for the pleasure of his, the mandarin's, company to breakfast, which invitation having been delivered, the messenger quickly returned with the following reply, "That mandalee talkee, you come so far my breakfast, he thinkee my one fool man, no can do." Kellet then assured him,

to save all bobbery, he would wait on him not only to breakfast, but to dinner also if he liked. The mandarin was beat by this excess of politeness, and returned for answer, "My chin-chin, you no fire plum, my do all same pigeon, that no can do; my can fire six piece gun no plum got, save emperor's face, then makee walkee." Kellet not admiring this inglórious mode of warfare, dismissed the messenger with a kick, desiring him to tell his master that he was a mighty big coward.

The Chinese, in spite of their promises to the contrary, were observed busily building fire-rafts, and forming further obstructions across the river. More guns had been mounted in Tay-wang-kow; a sand-bag battery was in course of erection on the Honan end of the raft, and the mandarin himself had interfered with our boats. It was therefore deemed requisite to recommence hostilities. Consequently, on the morning of the 13th, the Modeste, in tow of the Madagascar steamer, as well as the Starling and the boats of the squadron, proceeded to the

attack of that formidable-looking spot Tay-wang-kow, a circular fort*. The rafts and sunken junks preventing the close approach to it, the ships had hardly opened their fire, when the boats' crews, giving three cheers; pushed on for it. This method of attack was too much for the Chinamen's nerve; and the mandarin proved, for probably the first time in his life, as good as his words "saving the emperor's face," and bolting. Many of the brave defenders were wounded, "not in the front."

After a few days several of these men applied to the surgeon of the Modeste to dress their wounds. Indeed during the time the ship was in the neighbourhood of Canton, he had above one hundred wounded Chinese under his hands, and numbers of others went to the different ships. It was remarkable how well these people, who were generally such cowards in the field, would undergo surgical operations.

* The boats were those of her majesty's ships Blonde, Conway, Herald, Alligator, Nimrod, Pylades, and Cruizer.

A large quantity of tea was found at this place, and numerous fat porkers furnished a rare feast to their conquerors.

On the 14th, a passage was opened at that end of the raft which was nearest to the Honan shore, the remainder being left to protect the shipping from fire-rafts. At the end, a small temporary guard-house was knocked up as an outpost for the marines, who garrisoned the fort, the intention, which had been entertained of destroying it, being abandoned.

The Nemesis, with the plenipotentiary on board, on the 15th, entered the main river, immediately to the southward of Second Bar pagoda, from the Broadway. She had quitted Macao on the 13th with the boats of the Samarang and the Atalanta steamer in tow, the whole being under the command of Captain James Scott, of the former vessel.

Having succeeded in getting a Chinese pilot, this force proceeded between Twee-lin-shan and Toi-ko-ke-tou to the Broad-way or Hong-shan River: on entering, they

were fired upon from Motow fort, which was immediately stormed and carried. On reaching Hoak-tow the river was found much contracted, and divided into two channels, that to the right taking a sudden and sharp turn. On a rising ground at this spot and on the left bank of the river, stood Tai-yat-kok, a new field work of fourteen guns, from which the Nemesis received a smart fire, and returning it as smartly with shot, shell, and rockets, soon silenced her opponent. Before the boats effected a landing, the Chinese deserted their strong position which could only be approached in single file along a narrow pathway. This post was surrounded by inundated paddy-fields.

At noon, nine war junks were seen over the land, and immediately chased. On entering the reach in which they were, a new fortification was discovered on the right bank embrasured for ten guns, none of which, however, were mounted. In its immediate neighbourhood was Hochang, a good granite built fort of fourteen guns,

surrounded by a wet ditch. Abreast of these the river was strongly staked: the junks, however, had just passed through, but not without securing the opening astern of them. The boats quickly cleared the passage and dashed on to the capture of the fort, which was instantly carried. Seven of the junks having been run on shore and deserted by their crews were destroyed, as well as the small fort of Fiesha-kok which was discovered close to the junks. In the meantime the Nemesis had succeeded in tearing up the stakes and forcing a passage through them, when chase was immediately given to the two junks a-head, one of which preceded her pursuers by about a mile to the town of Heangshan, or the Fragrant Hill, through which the "devil-ship walkee," much to the astonishment of the inhabitants, who crowded the bank, boats, junks, house-tops, and large pagoda, evincing not the least fear at the extraordinary sight before them. This town extended for about a mile on each bank of the river, both sides of which were closely packed by trading craft

of every description, leaving barely space for the steamer's paddle-boxes as she moved between them. After dispersing the troops, and destroying the Shonchap battery and the junk which had been seen on shore, the Nemesis was anchored for the night in seven-feet water. On arriving off the new fort of Hong-how, it was taken and burnt as the others had been. At this spot the river was very strongly staked, and it occupied the force above four hours and a-half to clear a passage, in which work about two hundred of the peasantry assisted. A tackle from the mast-head being hooked to these stakes, they were soon dragged out of the ground, the Chinese joining in and enjoying the song the seamen were singing at the tackle fall.

The Chinese, when driving piles, are in the habit of lashing close to the upper part of the pile one or two boats heavily laden with stones, at the top of high water. As the tide falls, the weight of the boats forces the pile in a little way; at next high tide this operation is repeated, and so on until the pile

is sufficiently far in the ground. This method, from the largeness of the upper part of the hole, causes them to have a tremulous motion, and to yield easily to any vessel that may get foul of them;—not an unusual occurrence.

At daylight, the Nemesis again weighed, and continued her course towards Second Bar, having obtained *six* pilots for the different branches which they would have to pass through. In many parts the river was so narrow, that the steamer's bow had to be forced into one side of the river's bank in order to clear the other, and in many parts she had not an inch of water to spare, though only drawing four feet.

All public works and mandarin stations were destroyed, one hundred and five pieces of cannon were rendered unserviceable, and nine sail of war-junks were burnt between Macao and Tszenai, without a single casualty.

The Nemesis carried a banner, on which a few Chinese characters set forth that England was making war upon the government

only; the good effect of which was soon seen by the inhabitants expelling the Chinese officers from the places in which they sought refuge.

"The briefest notice of this service," observes Captain Elliot, "would be unsuitable, which failed to mention the admirable steadiness and ability displayed by Mr. William H. Hall, R.N., commander of the Nemesis, in the navigation of that extraordinary vessel."

Having completed this service, the boats returned to their vessels at Macao. Captain Elliot proceeded up the river in the Nemesis, and joined the advance-squadron off Tay-wang-kow with the *everlasting* white flag at her mast-head. Upon being joined by the boats, she proceeded through the raft, Captain Elliot wishing to communicate with the Canton authorities.

As they approached the garden-battery a fire was opened upon them from that fort, as well as from the flotilla of junks and gun-boats above the second raft, upon which the white flag was hauled down, and the compliment returned. Soon after this the force retired

to their position off Tay-wang-kow: the commandant of the fort immediately sent a chop to the city, announcing that he had driven the "devil-ship" back.

This decided the plenipotentiary to allow the force to *carry all* the out-works of Canton; and the boats of the whole fleet were ordered to assemble alongside the Modeste*.

* List of Ships and Steamers, with the names of the Officers employed on the 17th and 18th March, 1841:—

| | |
|---|---|
| H. M. S. | Herald, Captain Nias |
| ,, | Modeste, Commander Eyres |
| ,, | Hyacinth, Commander Warren |
| ,, | Algerine, Lieut. Mason |
| Schooner | Starling, Lieut. Kellet |
| ,, | Hebe, Mr. Quin, R.N. mate, commanding. |
| Cutter | Louisa, Mr. Carmichael, R.N. mate, com. |

STEAMERS.

Madagascar, Mr. Dicey, H.E.C.S.
Nemesis, Mr. Hall, R.N.

BOATS.

*First Division.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Commander Barlow | Mr. Purver, mate |
| Lieut. Williams | Mr. Woolcome, mate |
| Lieut. Stewart | Mr. Baker, mate |
| Lieut. Dewes | Mr. Comber, mid. |
| Mr. W. Kendall, mate | Mr. Scott, vol. 1st class |

While at this anchorage it had been the constant practice for the boats to row guard at night. On the 17th, the Pylades' pinnace was on that duty, in charge of Lieutenant

*Second Division.*

Commander Clarke

| | |
|---|---|
| Lieut. Hamilton | Mr. Fitzgerald, mate |
| Lieut. Beadon | Mr. Pearse, mate |
| Lieut. Shute | Mr. Read, mate |
| Mr. King, master | Mr. Turnour, mate |
| Mr. Miller, mate | Mr. Crofton, mid. |

*Third Division.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Lieut. Coulson | Mr. Anderson, mate |
| Lieut. Ingram | Mr. Purvis, vol. 1st class |
| Mr. Christopher, mate | Mr. Coke, vol. 1st class |
| Mr. Walker, mate | Mr. Lyons, vol. 1st class |

Mr. Stanley, asst. surgeon.

*Western Division.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Commander Warren | Mr. Daly, mate |
| Commander Belcher | Mr. Rivers, mate |
| Lieut. Haskell | Mr. Jefferies, mate |
| Lieut. Watson | Mr. Le Vesconte, mate |
| Lieut. Hay | Mr. Egerton, mate |
| Lieut. Morshed | Mr. Drake, mate |
| Lieut. D'Eyncourt | Mr. St. Leger, mate |
| Lieut. Wood | Mr. Bryn, mate |
| Lieut. Hayes | Mr. Brown, master's asst. |

Mr. Airey, master

Mr. Tweedale, asst. surg. Mr. Butler, M.D., asst. surg.

(now Commander) Hay, when a most important service was performed by that officer. Allowing the boat to drop up to the raft crossing from Garden-battery to the opposite shore, he cut two openings through it, thus affording a free ingress to Canton.

On the morning of the 18th the Hyacinth and a division of boats under the command of Commanders Belcher and Warren, were placed at the south entrance of a branch of the river leading to Fatee, their object being to cut off a flotilla of gun-boats that had taken part in the aggression, on the 16th.

At half-past eleven, A.M., the Modeste and Algerine, the schooners Starling and Young Hebe, the cutter Louisa, and steamers Ne-

VOLUNTEERS.

Lieut. K. Stewart Mackenzie, H. M. 90th Regiment
Mr. Johnson, master, H. M. S. Conway
Mr. G. Ramsden, clerk, H. M. S. Calliope
Lieut. Giffard, H. E. C. 12th Regiment.

CASUALTIES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Calliope, | Lieut. Stransham, R.M., | severely | wounded |
| ,, | two men | slightly | do. |
| Hyacinth, | one man slightly, one man | severely | do. |
| Modeste, | two men | slightly | do. |

mesis and Madagascar, with the boats of the squadron, in three divisions, proceeded to the attack of the Garden-fort. In about half an hour, the Chinese were driven from their works, though they stood better than they had done for some time previously, not quitting their guns until the marines and seamen landed, when the fire of the small arms became too much for them. About this time the Herald, by much exertion, had been got over the flats, and was approaching Tay-wang-kow.

Having performed this service, the steamers and boats passed through the spaces in the raft, chasing and capturing the flotilla, few of which escaped, being cut off by the division, proceeding up the Fatee creek.

It was not a little amusing at this part of the day to see how wedded the plenipotentiary was to his white flag, for the Nemesis, with it flying, pushed up the river; while the Modeste and small craft were banging away right and left. On her return a gun was fired at her from the entrance of a street, when down came the bunting and wack

went one of her guns; and thus it continued going up and down for some time. Who can doubt her majesty's representative's wish to spare the Chinese?

The Shameen or Cobler's fort, with the Dutch and French Follies, and Rouge fort, were carried in quick succession; placing the Chinese naval arsenal and the city of Canton under the guns of the squadron, and thus by four o'clock the union jack was once more flying at the British consulate, just two years after it had been struck. All this had been effected with very few casualties, though the Chinese must have lost many men.

Lieutenant (now Commander) Shute, of the Modeste, and Mr. King, the master, pulling on shore with the gig and jolly-boat to an apparently deserted battery, to spike the guns, jumped in at the embrasures, when they suddenly found themselves in the presence of about four hundred soldiers, by whom they were nearly surrounded. However, the discharge of their pistols made a sufficient opening to allow them to get back to the boats, and Captain Bourchier passing at the

moment with his division, and quickly turning his fire on them, sent the Tartars to the right-about. The fort was afterwards known as "Jack Shute's Folly*."

On the 20th, a suspension of hostilities was agreed on between Captain Elliot and the joint-commissioner Yang-fang, his other colleagues not having arrived.

By this truce it was agreed that the trade of Canton should proceed as usual; that the merchant-ships should come to Whampoa for the purpose of loading; that no bond should be required by the provincial government; that the usual port-charges and duties should be levied by the Chinese; that opium, or other smuggled goods, should be confiscated on capture; detention of persons or penal consequences of all kinds being excepted.

The authorities representing that the ships close to the factories alarmed the inhabitants and prevented their return to the city, the Modeste and her companions, therefore, drop-

* It must be observed that all the batteries in this branch rejoice in the name of "Follies."

ped down to their anchorage close to Tay-wang-kow, furnishing a guard of marines to the factory, while the fort was garrisoned by those of the Wellesley.

That this suspension of hostilities allowed the teas of the season to be shipped is very true; but why did we agree to pay duty to the Chinese government for these teas, which were all in the Hongs, in the immediate vicinity of Canton, and consequently had fallen to her majesty's arms, and were ours by right of conquest? I am aware that many will say that these teas were private property, and, therefore, could not justly be seized.

These were not our doctrines at the capture of Java and the other spice islands from our European brethren. But, allowing for a moment that they were not justly ours, the duties were not private property, and, therefore, if it was found impossible to ship them at once from Canton, why were they not removed to the Bogue, and there sold for the benefit of their owners, who would have followed quickly after their chests of tea?

By these means we should have deprived

the local government of some of the sinews of war: but by these duties they were much assisted in their operations, namely, in building junks,—erecting batteries,—casting cannon,—and collecting all kinds of missiles; the capture of which afterwards cost us so many valuable lives, from the deleterious effects of the climate. It must further be remembered that, while these teas were exported at an advanced price and duty, *our* imports were received by the Chinese at a price far under the proper value, and had a duty put on them of nearly double what it was in former years.

It is worthy of remark, that in all our operations up to this date (the 20th of March), though the Chinese had lost in battle upwards of two thousand men, the British had only one killed, and one who died of his wounds. To this may be added three that were killed by their own weapons, two of which accidents occurred from percussion muskets.

The Chinese did all they could to excite the courage of their soldiers, by paying great respect to the memory of the slain. About

this time a grand funeral procession was performed. Bamboo figures being made and clothed to represent each individual that had fallen in the recent conflicts, numerous dishes of food were placed before them; and after the completion of various other ceremonies, the entire paraphernalia, figures, dresses, and food were committed to the flames.

On the 25th, her majesty's ship Melville sailed for England, the Samarang followed her on the 29th, and the Madagascar steamer proceeded to Bengal on the 30th.

On the night of the 26th, two officers of the Blenheim, Messrs. Toole and Bligh, with Mr. Field, were proceeding in a small cutter, to their ship in the outer Macao roads, but at dark were obliged to anchor near the Nine Islands. About 3 o'clock in the morning, a Chinese boat run foul of the cutter, when, from the tindal's account, these three gentlemen jumped on board her to chastise the crew. The boats instantly separated, and these ill-fated individuals were never again seen alive. Sir Fleming Sen-

house addressed a letter to the governor of Casa-blanca, requiring that they should be liberated; but he at once stated that he knew nothing whatever of them. Various were the conjectures by whom they had been attacked, neither has the mystery to this time been cleared up. The body of the unfortunate Mr. Field was some days afterwards washed up in Cassilha's Bay, thus at once dispelling all hopes of their safety. The remains of the other two gentlemen were never found.

On the 28th, the Pestomjee Bomanjee arrived from Chusan, to which place she had proceeded from England, with provisions for the squadron. On her arrival there she anchored near Keeto Point, off the village of Sing-Losan; and Lieutenant R. B. Crawford, R.N., the agent, proceeded into the harbour of Chusan, but, finding no shipping, and the Chinese soldiers showing evident signs of hostility, he thought it advisable to return to his vessel.

It being absolutely necessary that the transport should get water before proceeding to Macao, she remained a few days

at the point for that purpose; during which time the master of the ship, Mr. Stead, having landed in order to purchase stock at the village, was carried off by the natives. While in the hospitable act of giving some biscuit and grog to the head people, he was seized upon, and dragged away, before assistance could be given him. For this act of perfidy many of the houses in the village were burnt.

On the next day, the 21st of March, it being impossible to obtain any tidings of the master, and the blood about the spot showing that he had probably been murdered, the Pestomjee weighed to proceed to Macao; but several junks and boats, with troops, having assembled for the evident intention of attacking the ship, they were, as she passed through, saluted with round and grape, which caused a great loss amongst them. These boats had a large copper cylinder floating in the water, which Mr. Crawford had no doubt was intended to set fire to, or blow the ship up.

When Ning-po was subsequently captured, it appeared that poor Mr. Stead had been conveyed there alive, when the brutal Chi-

nese general had him secured to a stake, and then practised his bowmen by firing at him as a target; his body being subjected to the same brutality after life was extinct.

Captain Clarke, of the Columbine, as soon as the seizure of Mr. Stead became known, was dispatched in that brig to Chusan and Ning-po to warn any other transport which might arrive, there being many *en route* from England, and to deliver a letter from the plenipotentiary to the authorities at the latter place.

Captain Clarke sent a chop by a junk to the authorities, requesting they would send out for the plenipotentiary's communication; but to this he got no reply, and all boats were prevented from approaching his brig. One from the Columbine was then sent, with a flag of truce, which they did not attempt to meet; after which the brig remained twenty-four hours, and then returned to Hong Kong.

It was very evident that the truce at Canton would not be productive of any permanent peace, and that the force would have to proceed to the northward, as soon as the

monsoon would permit of that movement. Sir Gordon Bremer therefore, on the 31st of March, proceeded in the Queen steamer to Calcutta to consult with the governor-general, and also to get an increase of force, in which object he succeeded.

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# CHAPTER III.

## CAPTURE OF CANTON.

Chinese return to Canton—Captain Elliot at the Factories—Hong Kong — Nuy-ko — Volunteers—Treachery—Fishing-boats—Punishment of Native—Captain Elliot quits the Factories—Ships attacked by Fire-rafts—Water-braves—Night Cannonade — Flotilla destroyed—Morrison's Boat—Factories plundered —Mr. Pearse wounded—Flag of Truce—Royal Salute—Fire-rafts—Boats attack Batteries—Algerine—Right Column at Factories—Left Column landed—Camp-follower cut off—Heights and Camp carried—Ships on Shore—Flag of Truce—Attack on French Folly—Terms agreed on—Arrangements for Storming—Disappointment of the Force—Receiving the Ransom — Shoang-shan-tze — Armed Peasantry—Troops drive them back—Storm—Company missing —Advantage of percussion Muskets—Company found —Their gallant Behaviour—Mr. Berkeley wounded—Troops withdraw from the Heights—Ransom paid—Return to the Typa—List of Killed and Wounded—Table of Ransom-money.

The rebellious barbarians are indeed detestable;
They've turned topsy-turvy people's dwellings and land:
Heaven sent down red rain upon them,
And the villagers were all exasperated.
Rousing their valour, they cut them off without number,
Happy to be able so soon to exterminate them.
From henceforth general peace will pervade,
And a glorious life will soon itself have sway.

*Chinese lines prefixed to a picture of the battle on the heights.*

THE trade, under the proclamation of Yang-fang and Eleang, the acting governor

began, in the month of April, to assume a more regular appearance; many of the foreign merchants had returned to their old residences in the factories; and the business of the season was steadily increasing.

The Chinese capitalists and merchants had returned to the city, and their shops and warehouses were opened as usual. The merchant-ships assembling at Whampoa for their cargoes, and the river becoming crowded with passers to and fro, gave promise of peace and quietness in the neighbourhood of Canton; how soon to be broken through by the bad faith of the authorities, we shall proceed to show.

Captain Elliot, on the 5th, returned to the factories; and during a residence of twelve days was waited on by the Kwang-chow-foo, to arrange various details relative to the trade; and at his last interview he conveyed a communication from Yang-fang of the friendly disposition of his colleagues, Yinshan and Lung-wan, they having arrived on the 14th, accompanied by the new governor, Ke-kung. Boats had been sent out

by the Chinese to meet them; but not wishing to expose themselves to being seen by the British naval force in the river, they preferred entering the city by the land route.

The first act of Ke-kung was to issue a proclamation requiring the people in the city to remain quiet, and recommending all those who had quitted it to return; and further commanding them to go actively about their business, for they should be kept in perfect safety. He ended by declaring that "their families were as his family, and their bodies as his body."

Thus quietly passed the month of April, 1841; and the emperor issued an edict highly approving of Yang-fang's steps. This imperial commissioner still professed the utmost good faith, and accounted for the continued arrival of troops, which now amounted to about fifty thousand men, by saying that they had been ordered to Canton by the emperor before he was aware of the truce, and that by the emperor alone could they be stopped.

The settlement of Hong Kong was quietly advancing; and Captain W. Caine, of her majesty's 26th regiment, was appointed chief magistrate. Captain Caine had, some months prior to the evacuation of Chusan, most ably performed the same duties at that island. The site for the town was fixed on, and the land divided into streets and building-lots; the latter of which were sold by public auction, the Chinese owners receiving a full compensation for such of the land as was required for the public service.

Early in the month of May it became evident, that it would be requisite to make another attack upon the provincial city. The emperor had dismissed Keshen and Elepoo from the nuy-ko, or imperial cabinet, appointing in their room Paouhing and Yiking, both Mantchow Tartars, and well known as leading members of the party for war, which now became the cry. Edict after edict was hurled against the English; "Exterminate the rebels! exterminate the rebels!" were the orders received from court. To stimulate the bravery of his

troops, the emperor promised free pardons to all those officers, who had formerly any way committed or disgraced themselves, if they at once hastened to Canton, and there atoned for their misdeeds by gallant service.

Volunteers burning to signalise themselves in battle, were now hastening to Canton, and a galaxy of the bravest spirits of the empire was soon collected. The hour for their reaping *immortal* glory was not far distant, the emperor having promised to "reward their patriotic spirits in Hades, where those who have already fallen are enjoying large emoluments and high promotion." Many of the soldiers had been brought from the furthest part of the empire with officers who had been selected for their gallantry, and who were expected to ride in front of their troops, bidding mortal defiance to the English. We shall see.

The Chinese troops, who were encamped in the neighbourhood, were suffering very much from dysentery and fever.

Trade was now hurried on before the

outbreak should actually take place, and it became known that the Chinese were secretly erecting batteries in the rear of many houses fronting the Pearl River; while cannon of large calibre, cast at Fashan, were brought down and mounted on the batteries. The fishing-boats had all been collected in the inner harbour at Macao, under the ostensible reason of being compelled to arm against the pirates, which were swarming on the coast, the Chinese government being unable to send a sufficient force against them. There were other reasons given, one of which, by the mandarins, was, "that the fish outside were scarce just now!"

That some obtained small guns, and went out against the water thieves, as the pirates are called in China, capturing one or two of them, is certainly true; but the main reason of collecting them was, to select the worst to be sent up the river, for the purpose of forming fire-rafts to be used against the British shipping.

Captain Elliot, in consequence of an un-

official communication from Yang-fang; expressing doubts of the temper of his colleagues, and professing a wish that an interview should take place between him and the Kwang-chow-foo, when further terms might be entered into, proceeded in the Nemesis on the 10th to Canton; and to show no want of confidence, was accompanied by Mrs. Elliot. Several meetings took place between Captain Elliot and the prefect, who assured him that the imperial commissioners did not contemplate any movement in the river; but Captain Elliot saw sufficient to confirm the reports in circulation.

Lin took his departure for Che-kiang, where he had been appointed governor, having for some time been restored to the royal favour.

On the 8th a poor wretch, who had dared to express an opinion on the business between his countrymen and the foreigners, was punished as a "traitorous native," as an example to his fellow-citizens, and to teach them to be cautious in their language. Being stripped to the waist, a small sharply-pointed

arrow bearing a mimic flag was struck through each ear, so as to stand erect on either side of the head, and with his arms bound behind his back he was led through the streets by a guard of soldiers, a man before him striking a gong, while another followed inflicting blows on his bare back with a rattan.

On Captain Elliot's return to Macao the contemplated expedition to the northward was abandoned, and on the 17th Captain Elliot again proceeded to Canton; from whence, in consequence of the military preparations which were going on, the natives of property were again flying in crowds. It was very evident that some contemplated movement of the commissioners was known to them. Still the authorities reiterated their profession of good faith; but as there was no doubt of their having broken the terms of the truce in twenty ways, more particularly in the repair of the Shameen battery, the fleet under Sir F. Senhouse, and the troops with Sir Hugh Gough at their head, proceeded from Hong Kong on the 18th, accompanied

by the whole of the force. Having acquired a partial use of my limb, Lieutenant Stewart Mc Kenzie and myself, with several other military officers then on leave at Macao, proceeded in a lurcher* to join the force. The Blenheim, 74, in tow of a steamer, proceeded up Brown's Channel, and anchored about eight miles below Canton.

On the 20th, still more to keep up the false and treacherous appearance, the acting-prefect Yu issued an edict†, of which he delivered copies to the foreign merchants, and pasted others on the walls of the factories and about the streets of the suburbs, while he personally assured Captain Elliot that there was not the slightest occasion for alarm.

The Modeste's cutter, with Mr. King, the master, and Mr. Pearse (mate), proceeded along the Pearl River for the purpose of making observations. They there discovered immense sand-bag batteries on each side of the

* A very comfortable description of passage-boat in use at Macao; they are also employed for loading and discharging vessels' cargoes.

† Vide Appendix H.

French Folly filled with troops, who jumped up on their works, shouted at them in the most outrageous manner, and expressed their contempt by the most indecent and disgusting gestures.

Captain Elliot, from secret information, became certain that it was no longer safe for the British or foreign merchants to remain in the factories. He, therefore, on the 21st, issued the following circular:—

"In the present situation of circumstances her Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiary feels it his duty to recommend that the British and other foreigners, now remaining in the factories, should retire from Canton before sunset.

(Signed) "CHARLES ELLIOT,
"*H.B.M's. Plenipotentiary.*"

*British Factory, May* 4, 1841.

Captain Elliot embarked on board the Louisa cutter, then at anchor off the factories; and the merchants (except Messrs. Coolidge and Morss with some of their clerks), in compliance with the circular, proceeded to the ships at Whampoa. Mr. Dent

and his establishment embarked on board his schooner, the Aurora, at anchor close to the cutter.

The Modeste, Pylades, Algerine, and Nemesis steamer, at about six in the evening moved up towards the city, anchoring just off the entrance to the Pearl River; the Shameen battery being nearly due-north from the Modeste, and within gun-shot; the other ships lying at a very short distance further to the southward and eastward. Between the Shameen battery and the factories was the western fort or Se-paoutae, a small square work built of stone, and now lined with a number of sand-bags. In front of this was a recently erected sand-bag battery, a little to the eastward of which, on a projecting point, was another mounting a ten-inch gun. The whole of these works were garrisoned by a detachment of picked men, commanded by an old and veteran officer, Twan Yang-fuh, from Szechuen.

Every thing was buried in the most profound silence until near midnight, when the sentry on the forecastle of the Modeste

observed several junks working down with the ebb tide. On their being hailed they were immediately set on fire, and almost as instantly enveloped in flames, but by giving the ship a shear with the helm, she was soon cleared of her dangerous company.

The marines quickly assembled on the forecastle and shot the water-braves* by the light of their own burning vessel, as they swam towards the cable, probably with the before-proposed intention of boring holes in the ships' bottoms. The boats of the advance squadron were quickly on the alert, and the fire-vessels were soon towed away. As the Modeste's pinnace hauled a-head, several of the Chinese were actually knocked down with the boat-hooks.

In the distance and up the river could be distinguished a large flotilla of junks and fast boats, which we subsequently learnt had three thousand five hundred troops on board, with the intention of coming down and attacking the ships during the confusion, which the

* Water-braves is a name applied by the Chinese to a particular branch of their maritime service.

Chinese fancied would exist should their fire vessels take effect; and no doubt, at such a moment, they would have been unwelcome visitors. The broadside of the Modeste being brought to bear on these gentry, they quickly retired.

Scarcely was this danger passed when the western and other batteries opened a furious cannonade on the ships, which was quickly returned, though the darkness of the night rendered it very difficult to distinguish the forts, situated as they were amidst the houses.

The Modeste had three men wounded, and two lower shrouds cut away; with some other trifling damages. The loss on shore must have been very great. On the flood tide a second attempt was made with fire-rafts from the Honan shore, but with equal ill-success. At the same time that the battery opened on the Modeste a gun was brought into the factory square, and a cannonade commenced on the Louisa and Aurora; the wind and tide prevented their moving, they were a good deal cut up, till, by veering, they threw the Chinese out in their range. The

Alligator, off Howqua's Folly, was also attacked about the same time by fire vessels, but which were happily towed on shore by her boats.

This was only the part of a plot for a simultaneous attack which had been hurried to a development a night sooner than intended, by the rapidity of the British movements.

By some it was said that Lungwan, who was known as a great debauchee, had, in a fit of drunkenness, hastened on the attack, contrary to the advice of his colleagues, who thought by temporizing they might gain time to carry out their original intentions, and they attributed to him the failure; while others thought the 21st was selected as the fortunate moment. There can be but little doubt that the first cause was the true one; for the Wellesley, at the Bogue, was attacked by fire-rafts on the night of the 22nd, there not having been time to announce to their water-braves of that place their determination to anticipate their original intention.

As the day broke on Saturday, the 22nd,

the Modeste, Pylades, Algerine, and Nemesis, moved close up to the Shameen and neighbouring batteries, from which they soon drove the garrison. The fire had been pretty well silenced by the night cannonade; and now the boats' crews landed and destroyed the works, and rendered the guns useless.

The Nemesis, and boats of the ships, immediately proceeded to the attack of the flotilla and war-junks, in number about two hundred, which were lying near the westernmost pack-houses. In the centre of the flotilla the Chinese had some floating batteries, with large guns mounted, and which, if properly served, would have given some trouble, and caused sad havoc amongst the attacking force, who speedily destroyed thirty-nine junks, and as many more fishing-smacks, fitted as fire-rafts. The remainder were run on shore and burnt, or had in the early part of the attack saved themselves by flying up some of the shallow creeks which extended on all sides. The troops abandoned their boats as they ran on shore; and it was

not a little ridiculous to see these "tiger-hearted Tartars" scrambling away in all directions, minus their caps, well knowing that their buttonless heads would not be intentionally interfered with.

The steamer and boats returned from this service with numerous banners flying, and the men having a grotesque appearance, habited in the clothes and white-buttoned caps with squirrel tails, which had been left behind by their flying foes.

Early in the morning the boats of the American ship Morrison pushed off from the factories, having a large placard stuck up denoting her nation, with the intention of proceeding to Whampoa, with Messrs. Miller, Taylor, and Gutieries on board, but had proceeded very little way when she was fired at from the French Folly, which induced her crew to seek for safety near a chop-boat secured to the river bank, thinking the Hong coolies, to whom they were known, would insure their safety; but the soldiers advanced, and attacked them with long spears, being afraid to come to close quarters, though

amounting to more than one hundred. This small party after being severely wounded, were of course overpowered, and carried prisoners into the city. They were eventually turned adrift in the factory square; when, to secure themselves from the insults of the mob, they took refuge in the Consoo-house. All this was done in the face of the prefect's edict.

During the enactment of the foregoing scenes on the river, about two thousand Chinese troops proceeded to the factories to search for guns, breaking into the Greek, Dutch, and English hongs. They commenced all kinds of excesses, destroying and carrying off whatever pleased their fancy. Even officers might be seen loading their horses with merchandize of different qualities, and leading them off to the city. The mob soon joined the soldiery, when not a door, lock, or window was spared. The beautiful mirrors and chandeliers in the British hall were dashed to pieces; even the chapel did not escape their sacrilegious hands; and whatever fell under them was defaced.

Mr. Morss, in the midst of the confusion, succeeded in getting a boat and effecting his escape to the Nemesis; but Mr. Coolidge was seized and carried into the city, when he was detained with the people belonging to the Morrison's boat.

On the 23rd, the advance-squadron was increased by the arrival of the Sulphur, Hyacinth, Cruizer, and Columbine, the Herald being ordered round to Junk River to take her station off Howqua's Folly.

Captain Belcher proceeded up the river, with a division of boats, for the purpose of surveying it, and to ascertain the most eligible spot for the troops to effect their landing at. This duty was most ably performed by that officer; and the division captured several junks and fast-boats, with brass and iron guns. Mr. Pearse, mate of the Modeste, was much burnt, while turning one of the Chinese ginjals against the flying foe. This, with many others, was fitted with a shifting breech, several spare ones being in readiness for reloading. In this case, having been improperly secured, it blew out, and thus the accident occurred.

Boats were also dispatched to capture craft, for the purpose of conveying the troops from the transports at anchor near the Blenheim. Sir F. Senhouse and Sir Hugh Gough arrived on board the advance squadron in the afternoon.

It had been the wish of the commander-in-chief to have commemorated her majesty's birth-day by the capture of the heights at the back of Canton, on that auspicious day; but unavoidable circumstances prevented him from fully carrying out his intentions.

Soon after daylight of the 24th, a boat, with a flag of truce flying, and three linguists, came off to the Hyacinth. The plenipotentiary refused to receive any proposals, but Mr. Morrison had some conversation with them. It was understood, that they brought a message from Yishan and his colleagues, saying, "they were sorry for the injury done by the mob to the factories, all of which should be paid for; but requesting that the injured parties would not charge two dollars for one." This of course was not attended to. A white flag had been hoisted on board

the Hyacinth during their visit, but was hauled down the moment they departed.

About 6 A. M., a boat proceeded from the Hyacinth to the Honan shore, where the officer stuck up and distributed papers to the Chinese, which were eagerly read by them, the purport of which was to inform them that, being her Britannic Majesty's birth-day, a salute would be fired without shot, and therefore they need not be alarmed.

Early in the morning of this same day, the general order* was issued to the troops. At noon a royal salute was fired by the whole fleet, for the first time, in the inner waters of "the Central Flowery Land." The smoke had hardly cleared away, when her majesty's ship Nimrod, Captain Barlow, was seen approaching. The signal was now made for all captains to proceed on board the Hyacinth; and it was evident that the moment for commencing decisive operations was at hand.

Immediately after the ships' companies'

* Vide Appendix I.

dinner, the Sulphur weighed to proceed up the north branch of the river towards Neishing and Tsang-poo, which point Captain Belcher had previously fixed upon for the landing of the troops. The light squadron, under the orders of Captain Warren, weighed shortly after; the Hyacinth leading, with the Modeste, Cruizer and Columbine, in close order, and entered the Pearl River; while the Nimrod and Pylades took up a position off the Shameen and western batteries.

The flood tide running strong, and the wind being light, the Hyacinth and her division made but little progress after rounding the point of Honan. The Chinese garrison at the factories immediately fled in a fast-boat, giving way with all their might. When the ships were abreast of the Rouge fort, five immense fire-junks were sent against them; and though not injuring us, did much damage to the suburbs, towards which they were drifted by the wind and tide, setting fire to Howqua's warehouses, between Footae's hong and the Dutch Folly.

A number of natives quickly collected with fire-engines to extinguish the flames, which, in spite of all their efforts, continued to rage for some hours, destroying property to an immense amount. The fire at one time threatened destruction to the whole city. As the ships approached, white flags were hoisted on the Hong merchants' houses, which are situated to the eastward of the factories.

The boats having been dispatched to tow the fire-rafts off were now hotly engaged with the batteries to the eastward of the Dutch Folly, which they carried after some sharp firing; the Chinese standing to their guns until driven away by the landing of the seamen*. At one small projecting work on the execution ground, and close to the Dutch Folly, the Chinese were seen loading and firing with great coolness, while under a hot fire from the boats' guns, at which

* The marines of all the ships were formed into a battalion, and were on the heights with the troops; the boats engaged were those of the Hyacinth, Modeste, Nimrod, Pylades, Cruizer, and Columbine.

showers of rockets were thrown, beautiful in appearance, but as harmless as they were beautiful. On the boats' crews landing, they were driven from this work, and closely pursued by them to the city walls, over which many of them escaped by ladders placed there for that purpose; but the seamen succeeded in knocking one of these away, when many of the Chinese fell in consequence. After this gallant little brush, the boats returned, having had three wounded*.

Captain Warren, as he proceeded to the factories, hailed the Algerine, then under all sail, and directed Lieutenant Mason to proceed with her as far as he could, which he did in the most gallant style, anchoring about half way between the Dutch and

* Lieutenant Moreshed, first of the Hyacinth, slightly; one seaman of the same ship, severely; and one seaman of the Modeste, dangerously: the latter was the poor Irishman whose bull at Sincapore had afforded us so much amusement. The ball struck him on the temple, fracturing the bone, and on its being removed it was found perfectly flattened. He was afterwards invalided, and died on his passage to England.

French Follies, opposite to some very heavy sand-bag batteries, which he at once engaged. It soon became evident that the little Algerine had more than her match; but as the tide was fast ebbing, it was impossible for even the Modeste to be got over the reef abreast of the Dutch Folly. The pinnaces of the Hyacinth and Modeste were therefore sent to assist in moving her, but on their arrival alongside they found the strength of the tide rendered it impracticable. The night had now closed in, the batteries were firing with extraordinay precision, considering they were manned with Chinese, hulling the brig repeatedly.

Lieutenant Mason at once decided on storming the works and spiking the guns. His own small boat being added to the two pinnaces, this gallant little band, in spite of a heavy fire, fully succeeded in their object, and spiked about twenty guns, many of which were ten and a half inch. As these brave fellows retired, I regret to say they suffered a very heavy loss from the matchlocks and ginjals of the Chinese, who opened

a fire on them from the windows of the neighbouring houses.

Mr. Fitzgerald, mate of the Modeste, in charge of her pinnace, a most gallant young man, was shot through the knee, and died about three weeks after from the effects of the wound. One man was killed, and seven of the boat's crew severely wounded. The Algerine had also five or six rendered *hors de combat*; and the Hyacinth's pinnace had several in the same state.

Captain Herbert, about noon, had proceeded with the boats of the Calliope and Conway to the Alligator off Howqua's Folly, when she was moved up the river above Napier's fort, and anchored in her own draught; the boats were then pushed as far as possible, without exposing them to the heavy fire of the forts. Captains Herbert and Bethune then proceeded a-head in their gigs to reconnoitre, when a shot from the French Folly passed through Captain Herbert's boat, and they retired under shelter of a point. Captain Bethune, as soon as it was dark, proceeded with a division of boats to the Algerine,

where Captain Herbert arrived with the whole force about 2 A. M.

The military movements must next claim our attention. At 3 P. M., (May 24th,) the Atalanta steamer arrived with the right column, comprised of the 26th regiment, a detachment of Madras artillery, with a six-pounder field-piece, and five and a half inch howitzer; the whole commanded by Major Pratt of the former corps.

| RIGHT COLUMN, towed by Atalanta. | Officers. | Rank & File. |
|---|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 26th regiment . . | 15 | 294 |
| Madras artillery . . . . . | 1 | 20 |
| Sappers . . . . . . . . | | 30 |
| | 16 | 344 |
| Gross total. . . . | 360 | |

ORDNANCE.—One 6-pounder field-piece, one 5½-inch howitzer.

They were immediately landed at the factories, and made the necessary disposition

for acting with the main body. Captain Elliot landing* shortly afterwards proceeded, with Major Pratt and a strong guard, to reconnoitre the suburb. The party were soon attracted by outcries to the Consoo-house, when, on breaking open the doors, they were found to proceed from Mr. Coolidge and the men of the Morrison, who had secured themselves in this place. Happy indeed were they to find themselves out of the clutches of the Chinese, by whom they had been beaten and much ill-used. Mr. Coolidge, whom the Chinese shortly after paid for the destruction of property, received five thousand dollars for personal inconvenience on this occasion.

The Nemesis, at 4 P. M., proceeded up the northern branch, having in tow about thirty boats, filled with troops, guns, ammunition, &c.

* Singular enough, the 24th of May was the day on which the British chief superintendent left the factories in 1839, after the imprisonment of himself and the merchants; in 1841, it was the day on which the combined British forces took forcible possession of them.

LEFT COLUMN, towed by Nemesis in four Brigades, to move left in front.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Fourth*, left brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, H. M. 49th regiment | | |
| H. M. 49th, commanded by Major Stephens . . . . . . | 28 | 273 |
| 37th Madras N. I., Captain Duff . | 11 | 219 |
| One company Bengal Volunteers, Captain Mee . . . . . . | | 114 |
| *Third*, Artillery brigade, under Captain Knowles, R.A. | | |
| Royal artillery, Lieutenant Spencer . | | 33 |
| Madras artillery, including gun lascars, Captain Anstruther . . . . | | 231 |
| Sappers and miners, Captain Cotton . | | 137 |
| *Second*, naval brigade, under Captain Bourchier, H. M. S. Blonde. | | |
| 1st naval battalion, Captain Maitland, H. M. S. Wellesley . . . . | 11 | 172 |
| 2nd naval battalion, Commander Barlow, H. M. S. Nimrod . . . . | 16 | 231 |
| *First*, right brigade, reserve, under Major-General Burrell. | | |
| Royal Marines, Captain Ellis . . . | | 372 |
| 18th Royal Irish, Lieutenant-Colonel Adams . . . . . . | | 494 |
| | 117 | 2276 |
| Gross total | 2,393 | |

ORDNANCE.—Four 12-pounder howitzers, four 9-pounder field-guns, two 6-pounder field-guns, three $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch mortars, two 62-pounder rockets—fifteen.

Every description of Chinese craft might now be seen, from the ark-like tea-boat, capable of containing the wing of a regiment, to the gay and gaudy flower-boat, but all equally well adapted for carrying troops; their housings, of different kinds, protected the men from the rays of the sun, which at this season of the year strike with great intensity.

As the Nemesis passed the spot where the Starling was at anchor, with her deck filled by the marines of the light squadron, she weighed, and followed up to the point to which the Sulphur had already proceeded.

The banks of the river from Tay-wang-kow upwards afforded good shelter for troops; and had the Chinese been a skilful enemy, they might have caused us a very heavy loss; indeed with our small military force it would have been impossible to have effected much.

The Nemesis arrived, with her *tail*, abreast of the landing-place about 6 P.M., when the 49th were immediately landed, without encountering the slightest opposition, and

occupied the joss-house. The general advancing with this force to reconnoitre the scene of his future operations, which he was enabled to do with great precision from a rising ground about a mile in front, approached very near to a small encampment of Chinese, who no sooner observed his proximity, than they threw up lights to give the alarm, firing a few ill-directed shots at the same time.

A poor camp-follower was cut off in a most daring manner. The advance company had proceeded forward at double quick time; this poor fellow, whose master belonged to the company, was carrying a basket of provisions, and attempted to follow. The space between them and the next company advancing never exceeded five hundred yards, yet was his headless trunk next day found by the road side,—so mutilated, without doubt, by the murderer for the purpose of claiming the reward.

I may here observe, that our people were on several occasions fired upon by men, apparently peasants, working in the fields, who,

the moment they thought they had a chance at a straggler, would seize up a matchlock and attempt to pick him off.

The general having fully succeeded in his object, returned to the river bank, at which place the joss-house was occupied, and the pickets were placed. The landing of the artillery was immediately commenced, and continued through the greater part of the night. About 11 P.M., the bugles sounded the alarm; but it was soon found to be a false one, and the night passed without any thing fresh occurring.

As the reveillée sounded on the 25th, the remainder of the troops were debarked: but before proceeding to describe their movements, I must request the reader to sketch on a sheet of paper a small square, to represent the new and old cities of Canton, the upper part being the north.

The landing was effected at a small creek at Tsang-poo, about two miles distant from the north-west angle of the city walls. Upon heights on the north side of this square, and nearly east and west, distant about a musket

shot from each other, were four forts; the nearest or westernmost one being Kung-kik-tai, or "Fortress of extreme protection;" the next Pou-kik-tai, or "Extreme security;" the third Yung-tang-tai, alias, "Eternal repose;" while the last or easternmost one bore the euphonious title of Sheting Pow, or "Asylum of old age." In these forts about forty pieces of cannon were mounted. Off the northernmost angle of the wall, and well protected by its fire, was a strongly entrenched camp of the Kweichow soldiers, said to be the best native troops in China.

During the debarkation an alarm being given that the enemy were advancing, the general, accompanied by the 37th Madras native infantry and Bengal volunteers, proceeded for about a mile in a south-westerly direction to a rising ground, from which the city and enemy's pickets could be seen extending for miles, who no sooner beheld this reconnoitering party than they commenced beating their shields and brandishing their swords, "daring them to arms."

A small party was then dispatched to dis-

lodge the enemy, who were posted on the left, and to cause them to show their real strength. Having performed this service, the detachment fell back to join its brigade.

The order was now given to advance; but the line of march, crossing paddy-fields and burying-grounds, rendered the labour of dragging the guns most fatiguing and caused much delay. The columns had to halt about 8 A.M., for the artillery to come up. A brisk fire had for some time been opened on the advancing force but without any effect, their shot falling short, and the nature of the ground affording good shelter. About 9 A.M., part of the artillery* having come up, the enemy's fire was returned, which was now falling close around the men, but without doing mischief.

Preparations being completed for attacking the forts in échellon of column from the left, at 10 the advance was sounded; and a simultaneous attack made on all the forts, the 1st and 4th brigades carrying the eastern

* The rocket battery, two 5½-inch mortars, two 12-pounder howitzers, and two 9-pounder guns.

forts in gallant style; while volley after volley of grape was poured from the city walls and forts, on the attacking columns. As the British troops crowned the crest of the heights, the Chinese abandoned their works and bolted down the hills in all directions; letting off myriads of their tiny rockets, from which they derived great benefit, as the smoke prevented their being distinctly seen.

The defenders of the western forts, which were carried by the second or Blue-jacket Brigade, made a respectable opposition, and stood to their guns until the walls were escaladed, when they were fairly driven out at the point of the sword. Thus within an hour from the advance being sounded, our brave fellows had carried all the outer defences of the city, and looked down upon Canton; the wall of which, separated by a deep and precipitous glen, was barely one hundred yards from them.

A fire was kept up from the city walls all the day, and many of our men were wounded, among whom was Lieutenant C. Fox and Mr. W. Kendall, mate, both of the Nimrod,

who having ventured beyond the cover of the forts had each a leg knocked off by the same cannon ball. Lieutenant Fox, I regret to say, died under the necessary amputation; Mr. Kendall survived it, and the next day received his commission as lieutenant.

The enemy's fire at this spot was so hot and the direction so good, that the only cover the seamen could get was immediately under the wall of the circular fort, on the small space left by a crossing fire from the city. The enemy who had assembled in great force in the intrenched camp, rather more than a mile from the fortress of the Yang-tang-tai, and separated from it by paddy-fields, made frequent attacks on the pickets of the 49th regiment, but were as repeatedly driven back.

About two o'clock it became evident, from the movements of the enemy and the arrival of mounted mandarins from the city, that an attack on our position was in contemplation; and it was subsequently ascertained that Yang, the Tartar general, was commanding in person at this camp. Sir Hugh Gough therefore detached the 1st

brigade to destroy the camp, and our men immediately advanced in double-quick step, and single files, along the paths of the paddy-fields, under a heavy and well-directed fire from the camp and city walls, but soon drove the Chinese from their position. The enemy, as usual, until our men got well within musket-range, continued waving their banners, daring them to come on; while their officers galloped to and fro in front of their soldiers, abandoning however their ponies and mingling with the men, as the fight or rather flight commenced. The camp was then burnt, and the magazine blown up. In this affair four officers and several men were wounded.

Two of the principal magazines in the city were blown up by the good practice of the mortars established at the fortress of Eternal Repose; and the rocket battery from the watch-tower of the same fort did admirable service through the day.

These operations had cost us seventy killed and wounded; and the general, in the afternoon, had a very narrow escape, a shot having

struck the ground close to him, and covered him with the dust and dirt it knocked up.

When the troops advanced in the morning, some part of the artillery, owing to the roughness of the ground, was obliged to be left behind in charge of a small detachment of the 18th and 49th regiments. They were shortly afterwards threatened by a body of eight hundred Tartars, with an evident intention of capturing the guns, the enemy having opened a sharp fire on them from three field-pieces most advantageously placed on a bridge, which led to the city. But part of the seamen of the Nemesis, Sulphur, Wellesley, and Blonde, under Mr. Hall, of the the first-named vessel, soon joined this detachment, and advanced to attack the enemy; while the Nemesis and Starling cannonaded them with good effect, the first shot dismounting one of the enemy's guns, the others making continued lanes through their columns. As the soldiers and sailors advanced, the firing from the shipping ceased; and as they closed, the Tartars abandoned their guns, and retreated in good order to

some neighbouring houses. They were quickly pursued by the British force, at whom, when within twenty yards, they discharged two volleys of rockets, filled with arrows and dust; then, abandoning the houses, they fled to the city; to which neighbourhood it would have been unwise to follow them; so, setting fire to the houses, and spiking their guns, this gallant little body returned to their position.

While the troops had been thus actively engaged, the ships had been making an attempt to take up a position off the French Folly, in doing which the Atalanta, with the Hyacinth and Cruizer in tow, struck on the reef off Dutch Folly; while the Modeste, in shearing clear of them, took the ground close to the Honan shore. The tide ebbing we were all left in this awkward position, the Hyacinth with her bow out of the water; while the Modeste and the Cruizer had their sterns close into the windows of the houses opposite the factories,—so close, that an active man might with ease have jumped in at them; and if the Chinese had been on

the alert they might have swept every man off our decks. The next flood-tide floated all but the Atalanta, who had fallen over on her broadside, and was not likely to get off until every thing was taken out of her.

As it was evident that the Modeste was the only ship that would at the top of high water be able to cross the reef, three of the new junks that were off the naval arsenal, were therefore brought down and fitted with a 32-pounder shell-gun each. Thus we formed a tolerable flotilla for the movements of the next day.

During the course of these operations, the Nimrod and Pylades threw a number of shot and shell into the city and suburbs, which continued burning for many hours.

The troops having bivouacked for the night, as they best could, were alert, early on the morning of the 26th, in the expectation of proceeding to the attack of the city. This, however, was found impracticable, as from the very swampy and uneven nature of the ground it had been found impossible to get up the guns, with a requisite quantity of ammunition, to serve them effectually.

The city walls, which had vomitted forth such volleys yesterday, were now deserted; and the inhabitants might be seen from the heights crowding out of the city, with their most valuable property on their shoulders.

About noon the ammunition had arrived, but the rain was then descending in such torrents as to stop for the time all offensive operations. The weather clearing a little, a flag of truce was displayed by the Chinese on the most conspicuous part of the city wall. A red-buttoned mandarin, at the nearest embrasure to our position, stood waving in his hand a similar flag, which was readily understood to be begging an interview.

The general, Captain Sir Le F. Senhouse, and the interpreter, now went forward; but it being ascertained that this red-buttoned gentleman was not the "identical rebel-quelling commander-in-chief, Yishan," the two former retired; and Major-General Burrell and Captain Gough, aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, were directed to ascertain what was the purport of his signal.

This proved to be an offer of certain con-

ditions, if we would spare the city from being carried by assault. They were told in reply, that the officers present had no power to treat; but that if they wished an interview with the general, a tent should be pitched half way between the British position and the city, at which place, in two hours, our general and Sir Fleming Senhouse would attend, but meet only those of the highest rank amongst the Chinese officers. After some little delay this was agreed to, the Chinese declaring that their officers would be at the appointed spot at the time fixed.

The time having expired without any symptom of their deputation arriving, the flag of truce was consequently struck which had been displayed at the British position, though that of the Chinese continued still to fly on the walls; "which," observes Sir Hugh Gough, in his despatches, "was rather convenient, as it enabled me to get up my guns and ammunition without exposing my men to fire."

Hour after hour passed, and yet the Chinese appeared not. It became afterwards

evident, that it was in consequence of their having opened a negotiation with Captain Elliot by the means of Alenshi, the linguist, and Howqua, the Hong merchant.

The rain again descended in torrents, rendering the bivouac of the troops uncomfortable in the highest degree.

By warping over the reef early in the morning, the Mödeste, accompanied by the Algerine and gun-boats, had taken up a position near the French Folly; from whence a feeble fire was opened upon them, but which completely ceased on receiving a few shot from the division, and the defenders of it were seen flying into the city. The guns were then turned against the city and suburbs.

Shortly after this, three men were seen waving white flags from the top of one of the most considerable buildings within the walls, and to which we had been paying particular attention with our broadside. The firing now ceased, and the boats' crews, under the direction of Captain Bethune, landed to complete the destruction of the batteries. In the afternoon the white flag was displayed

on board the Hyacinth; and we soon learnt that Captain Elliot had agreed to the following terms, which were forwarded to the general by an officer of the Pylades, who, it will be seen, did not arrive at head-quarters so soon as it was supposed he would have done.

The terms agreed to by the Chinese, on condition that the city should be spared, were as follow:—

"First, it is required that the imperial commissioners and all the troops other than those of the province, quit the city within six days, and proceed to a distance upwards of sixty miles.

"Secondly, six millions of dollars to be paid in one week, for the use of the crown of England, counting from 27th of May, one million payable before sunset of the 27th of May.

"Third, for the present the British troops to remain in their actual positions; no additional preparation on either side. If the whole sum agreed upon be not paid within seven days, it shall be increased to seven millions; if not within fourteen days, to

eight millions; if not within twenty days, to nine millions. When the whole be paid, all the British forces to return without the Bocca Tigris, and Wang-tong; and all fortified places within the river to be restored, but not to be re-armed till affairs are settled between the two nations.

"Fourth, losses occasioned by the destruction of the factories, and of the Spanish brig Bilbaino, to be paid within one week.

"Fifth, it is required that the Kwang-chow-foo shall produce full powers to conclude these arrangements on the part of the three commissioners, the governor-general, and the general of the garrison, and the foo-yuen, having their excellencies' seals."

(Seal of the Kwang-chow-foo.)

The prefect, at an interview he had with Captain Elliot, represented the state of the city as most deplorable from the blockade. The inhabitants were suffering from a want of provisions, while a furious civil war was raging between the troops of the different provinces, many of whom fell before the

commotion subsided. I believe there was little doubt that under these straightened circumstances, twenty millions might have been as easily obtained from them as six were.

It was said, but I know not with what truth, that the imperial troops from Hoopih, in their fights with the local militia, cut off and ate their flesh.

This arrangement not being known upon the heights, orders were given that the batteries should open their fire at seven, on the morning of the 27th, and that a general assault should be made at eight by four columns.

The wall to be escaladed was about twenty-eight or thirty feet high, which it was fully expected would be reduced by the artillery to about twenty. Our men were ripe for it, and there was little doubt how it would have ended. With guns primed, and port-fires lit, the artillery only waited for the general to complete his final inspection. The enemy were in numbers running backwards and forwards on the walls, apparently fully on the alert.

When the plenipotentiary's messenger arrived, having lost his way the previous night, many wished that he had lost it altogether; but now there was only one thing to be done, to obey. To describe the feelings of the forces at this moment would be quite impossible. Every military and naval man will easily conceive it.

In the course of the forenoon, Sir Hugh Gough had an interview with Yang, the third in command of the Tartar army. He was a decrepid old man, about seventy years of age. Some few compliments passed between them, when he threw down from the wall his gold bangles, but on these being refused, one of his followers descended by a rope, and picked them up.

As the troops were to remain on the heights until the money was paid, steps were taken for making them as comfortable as the nature of the service would permit; and to this the 28th was devoted, as also in arranging for the evacuation of the city by the Tartar troops, five thousand of whom marched out.

At the same time the Hyacinth was employed in receiving the first instalment of the ransom, and the remainder of the ships in loading the junks with timber from the naval arsenal.

On the 29th, the Modeste was warped to a berth abreast of the factories, and the Nimrod was engaged in hoisting in the second dividend. The troops passed the day in comparative ease, the officers taking rambles in the neighbourhood of their encampment; in one of which they visited Shoang-shan-sze, or Double hill temple, the interior of which is thus described by an officer of the 37th:—

"Some very extraordinary tombs and places of worship, or joss-houses, were seen. One very extensive line of buildings, close under the city wall, was solely devoted to the reception of the dead. They were in strong substantial coffins, elevated on pillars, with perfumed incense sticks burning on every side. The coffins were generally placed two in one vault; and with the exception of a close damp smell, there was no unpleasant

sensation perceptible. Outside of the vaults evergreens and creepers were tastefully arranged, and over the doors of some of them bee-hives were fixed. The coffins were of enormous thickness and strength. The contents of a few of those that were opened presented an appearance almost natural. The bodies were all embalmed. They were buried in their clothes, the cap and button denoting in death, as in life, the rank of the wearer. The body in some of the coffins which were opened, must have been, from all appearance, an inhabitant of its narrow bed for upwards of half a century. The features presented a dried and shrivelled appearance; and there was a strong pungent aromatic smell perceptible on raising the lid. In the right hand of each was a fan; and in the left of many, a piece of paper, having Chinese characters written on it."

On the morning of the 30th, the general's attention was called to large masses of the enemy, who had collected in the rear of the encampment, principally armed with long spears, shields, and swords. Immediately

after breakfast the bugle at head-quarters sounded the assembly. It was taken up by all. Leaving Major-General Burrell in charge of the British position, with a sufficient force to repel any treacherous attack from the city, should it be attempted, the general advanced with the 26th regiment, which had joined the main body a day or two before, the 37th Madras native infantry, three companies of the 49th, and the Bengal volunteers, supported by the royal marines, and a battery of guns and rockets, to meet the enemy.

On descending the heights, they were found to occupy upwards of a mile of ground, and to be about five thousand strong. The 37th, who had proceeded a little to the left, surprised the advanced guard of the enemy, sitting quietly under a tree, sipping their tea; but no sooner did they catch a glimpse of the "black imps" than they scampered off in all directions leaving their arms, their cups, and their buckets of tea for their pursuers, who found it a very pleasant beverage in so hot a day.

The whole time the troops had been on the heights, the weather had been most unfavourable for active operations; but this day was peculiarly so, from the sultry and oppressive state of the atmosphere. Many men of this detachment had to return to their cantonments through illness. The quarter-master-general, Major Beecher, dropped dead from a *coup de soleil.*

The enemy had now been driven back about two miles, throwing away their spears, and flying, as the troops opened fire upon them; but finally drew up on some rising ground, evincing no disposition to make a further retrograde movement, but at this time showing no banners. The 49th regiment and Bengal volunteers were now ordered to fall back on the position, the general remaining with the residue of the detachment to watch the movements of the enemy, who, in two hours, increased to upwards of seven thousand men, displaying numerous banners and a few matchlocks. The Chinese now advancing in force, some rockets were thrown, under the directions of

Captain Knowles, with great precision, but appeared to have little effect in checking their progress, though ploughing lanes through their ranks. It was, therefore, necessary to disperse them, lest they should attack the camp in the night.

The heavy gathering of the clouds indicated an approaching storm. No time was, therefore, to be lost. At 1 P. M., the detachment was ordered to carry this resolution into effect, the 3rd company of the 37th, under the command of Lieutenant Hadfield, being dispatched by Captain Duff * to the left, to open his communication with the Cameronians, who were advancing on a large village, while the head quarter of the 37th proceeded to the right. On seeing this movement the Chinese retired, pursued by our troops for about three miles, when it was thought advisable to fall back. The threatened storm had burst, the thunder and lightning were awful in the extreme, while the rain poured down in torrents, preventing

* This officer subsequently died at Macao of brain fever contracted on the heights.

the men from distinguishing objects at a few yards' distance, and rendering their firelocks perfectly useless. The thickness of the weather had completely cut off the general and staff from his troops

On commencing the retrogade movement, it became no easy matter to the troops to discover their way; for the rain had destroyed every vestige of a path, and converted the paddy-fields into one vast sheet of water. The Chinese observing that the British had ceased firing, advanced on them, and began to close round, attacking them with spears. The rear man of the 26th was speared; and immediately after he had fallen the Chinese threw themselves upon him, hacking him about with their swords; but finally his body, arms, and accoutrements, were brought off by his comrades. The Chinese here fought hand to hand, and Major Pratt had the sleeve of his coat torn by one of their tri-forked spears.

Near 4 P. M., the 37th arrived at the spot where the general stood, and most cordially did he welcome them, shaking

hands individually with the officers, European and native. They were well worthy of such a reception; for nobly did the native troops of India on this day uphold the character they have always borne.

On the 26th coming up, it was found that the 3rd company of the 37th was missing, and had not been seen by them. These two regiments were worn out from a hard day's work; an express was therefore sent off for two companies of marines, with the new muskets fitted with percussion locks, who were dispatched, in company with Captain Duff, to the scene of the day's combat, in search of the missing company. After a long and fatiguing march, the marines were guided to their object, by hearing some occasional firing, followed by distinct hurrahs. It was now quite dark and raining heavily. The marines proceeded on rapidly in the direction of the reports, when the Chinese, to the number of some thousands, fled at their approach, at once exposing to their view the lost company, drawn up in square in a paddy-field. The marines gave the flying and

cowardly enemy a farewell volley, when the whole thus re-united party returned to the lines, which they reached about 9 P. M.

It was subsequently explained, that this company had, from the thickness of the weather, missed the Cameronians, to whom they had been detached, and had commenced a retrogade movement about the same time with the rest of the force: they had not however retired many hundred yards when their rear was assailed by a strong body of Chinese, armed with a variety of weapons. When one of the sepoys was pulled out of the rear rank by a long pike-shaped spear, Mr. Berkeley, the ensign of the company, with half a dozen men, sprang to his assistance; but it was too late; he struggled hard for his life; and when surrounded by numbers, and his musket had been wrenched from him, fought desperately with his bayonet, until he fell covered with wounds.

A rallying square being rapidly formed, Mr. Berkeley and his men returned to it, when a Chinaman, picking up the fallen man's musket, got behind a small bush where

he rested it on one of the branches, and coolly turning over the wet powder in the pan, took a deliberate aim at the officers, and then, applying his own match to the priming, he lodged the ball in Mr. Berkeley's arm.

Not a musket, in consequence of the heavy rain, could be got to go off with flint and steel; while the bayonet was but a poor defence against the long spears of the Chinamen, who, though surrounding our company by thousands, showed no wish to close.

After a short time the square were enabled to remove to a more defensible spot; when the rain ceasing for a little while, a few of the muskets became useful; while some of the sepoys, tearing the lining from their caps, drew the wet cartridges, and baling water with their hands into the barrels, succeeded in partially cleaning them. By these means, they were shortly enabled to fire three or four successive volleys, every shot telling fatally on the crowd, not fifteen yards from them. This quickly drove the Chinese back, and admitted of the company's making a considerable progress towards the

camp, their enemies following at a safe distance from their fire. The rain again rendering their muskets useless, and emboldening the Chinese, they were for a third time obliged to form square, with the determination of remaining so for the night, when the timely arrival of the marines prevented the alternative. This arrival was doubly important, as just at the moment of its occurring, the enemy opened fire from a small gun they had mounted on a neighbouring hill. The loss sustained by this company was one private killed, as we have before mentioned, and one officer and fourteen men severely wounded.

Too much praise cannot be given to this gallant little band, for their ready obedience to their officers* under the most trying cir-

* Lieutenant Hadfield, Lieutenant Devereux, and Ensign Berkeley, the corps to which this gallant company belonged, w re rewarded by being made a grenadier regiment, and the native officers and non-commissioned officers, and sepoys of the company engaged, were to receive an increase of pension on retirement; their names being honourably enrolled in the regimental books.

cumstances, and for the steadiness with which they resisted the rushes on the square, adding to the name that the Indian army has long possessed, for their effective discipline and bravery.

The enemy in increased numbers made their appearance on the heights, about 10 in the morning of the 31st, displaying numerous banners, firing guns and ginjals in all directions; having large parties thrown out in advance.

Nearly eight thousand Tartar troops having marched out of the city with their arms, but, as stipulated, without banners or music, were still in sight. The general naturally felt some doubt whether treachery was not intended, and made his dispositions to defeat it. At the same time, he notified to the prefect of Canton, that unless these troops were instantly dispersed, he must consider them as acting under the sanction of the authorities, and that he should haul down the flag of truce and proceed to attack the city, and burn every village in the neighbourhood. This had the

desired effect: the Kwang-chow-foo and Nauhoyune quickly appeared at head-quarters, and, being perfectly in our power, their assurances could be believed, that this hostile movement was without the knowledge or sanction of the authorities, and that no officer was with this assemblage of villagers. When the general again repeated his determination, they proceeded with a flag of truce, accompanied by Captain Moore, D. J. A., and Aheen, the linguist, to the tumultuous body, who, as they advanced, pointed their matchlocks at Captain Moore, and would not let him approach. That officer consequently returned; and shortly afterwards the magistrates settled the affair, and the people dispersed.

It was subsequently ascertained that this was an assemblage of villagers armed in self-defence, styling themselves *e ping*, i.e., "soldiers of righteousness," having these two Chinese words inscribed on their banners. They were headed by leaders of their own choosing, each village having his own standard, and numbered in all about 25,000.

It was most fortunate for themselves that they listened to reason and yielded to the coaxing of the prefect and magistrate, for most dreadful must have been the havoc had our troops been driven to act. They subsequently issued a "proclamation by the lads of thirty-six villages round Canton, to the English barbarians*."

The remains of the late Major Beecher were this evening committed to the earth, a very deep grave being dug to prevent the disinterment of the body.

It should, however, be observed, that since our visit to Canton the Chinese have shown some improvement in feeling, the authorities having directed that the tombs of our dead should be respected; but I cannot help still suspecting that this apparently considerate act proceeded from their desire to magnify our loss to their countrymen.

Five millions of dollars having been by this time paid, and security given for the remainder. While 14,500 troops had marched out of the city and 3,000 left it by water, our

* Vide Appendix K.

forces were on the 1st of June withdrawn from the heights, the Chinese furnishing eight hundred coolies* to drag the guns to the point of embarkation. Under the able superintendence of Captains Bourchier and Maitland, the whole were once more on board their boats by 3 P.M.

It is but justice to the troops to remark, that they behaved in the most exemplary manner during their sojourn on the heights. Her Majesty's 49th, who had committed a slight *faux pas* at the capture of Chusan, here most fully retrieved their characters; having discovered many jars of shamsoo, they brought them to their colonel and broke them before his face, saying, we lost our characters at Chusan, we will retrieve them here.

The Modeste having received her proportion of the freight, proceeded on the same day to warp down the river, old Howqua's nieces and a gay party of the fair sex appearing at a window on the Honan side to gaze at the ships. No bashfulness was evinced on their

* The hire of these coolies was paid by the British.

part, but as they did not appear to differ from the ladies I have before described, I shall pass them by in silence.

When abreast of Tay-wang-kow a sudden eddy of the tide drove the ship on one of the sunken junks off that fort, and as the tide was ebbing rapidly, she remained in that awkward position for some hours, during which time a boat was dispatched to the fort to complete the destruction of the guns.

From sundry delays it was the 7th before we got to Tiger Island, where the Blenheim was then at anchor; having discharged our valuable freight into her we proceeded to the Typa, anchoring there on the 10th of June. The ship having been up the river above three months, during which period she had been eight times engaged with the enemy's batteries, and her boats much oftener, her crew, during the period, had gone through very great fatigue from the harassing duty of warping up and down the different branches of the river, in many parts so narrow that there was not space to wind her. Indeed, most of the ships' companies had suffered more or

less from the hard nature of the service to which they had been exposed.

During the whole of this period and while the troops remained on the heights, little or no sickness was experienced; but, on their arrival at Hong Kong, and the ceasing of excitement, fever, ague, and dysentery, appeared to a most alarming extent, sweeping numbers into the grave, amongst whom was the late Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, whose exertions had been most unwearied. It may be truly said he fell a victim to his unbounded zeal. The regiments were once more reduced to skeletons, at one time there being above eleven hundred men in hospital. The 37th Madras native infantry, out of five hundred and sixty men, could only parade sixty bayonets.

The ships suffered equally. The Conway was rendered unserviceable; her interior resembled an hospital, much more than a man-of-war. The Modeste and Herald could barely muster fifteen men each for duty.

While this state of things lasted it was impossible to move to the northward. An

hospital was hired at Macao for the worst cases: numbers of officers and men were invalided; but, in the course of about a month, the health of the remainder began to amend.

RETURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN HER MAJESTY'S FORCE AT THE ATTACK ON CANTON, FROM THE 21st TO THE 30th OF MAY, 1841.

| Ships and Corps. | Killed. | Wounded. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Blenheim | | 9 | 1 officer, 1 corporal royal artillery, 9 seamen. |
| Wellesley | | 6 | 3 seamen, 3 royal marines. |
| Blonde | | 1 | 1 seaman, 1 marine. |
| Calliope | | 1 | 1 seaman. |
| Hyacinth | | 5 | 2 officers, 3 seamen. |
| Nimrod | | 4 | 2 officers, 4 seamen. |
| Modeste | | 12 | 2 officers, 11 seamen. |
| Columbine | | 2 | 2 seamen. |
| Algerine | | 4 | 1 officer, 2 seamen, 1 marine. |
| Nemesis | | 1 | 1 officer. |
| Madras artillery | | 1 | 1 private. |
| Sappers and miners | | 1 | 1 officer. |
| 18th Royal Irish | | 19 | 3 officers, 18 rank and file. |
| 26th Cameronians | | 15 | 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 16 rank & file |
| 49th regiment | | 17 | 1 officer, 17 rank and file. |
| 37th Madras Native Infantry | | 13 | 1 officer, 13 rank and file. |
| Bengal Volunteers | | 1 | 1 rank and file. |
| Camp followers | 11 | 3 | |
| Staff | 1 | — | 1 officer. |
| | 25 | 115 | |
| Gross total | 130 | | |

## Officers killed and wounded.

*Killed.*

Major Beecher, deputy quarter-master-general, died from fatigue.
Lieutenant C. Fox, H. M. S. Nimrod.

*Wounded.*

Mr. Walter Kendall, mate, Nimrod, dangerously—loss of leg.
— W. T. Bate, mate, Blenheim, slightly.
Lieutenant Morshed, Hyacinth, slightly.
Mr. Peter Barclay, mate, Hyacinth, slightly.
— E. Fitzgerald, mate, Modeste, dangerously—since dead.
— W. A. R. Pearse, mate, Modeste, slightly.
— Hall, commanding Nemesis, severely burnt.
— Vaughan, assistant-surgeon, Algerine, slightly.
Lieutenant Rundall, Madras sappers, dangerously.
Captain Sargeant, H. M. 18th regiment, severely.
Lieutenant Hilliard, ditto, slightly.
Lieutenant Edwards, ditto, severely.
Lieutenant Pearson, H. M. 49th regiment.
Lieutenant Johnstone, H. M. 26th regiment, slightly.
Ensign Berkeley, 37th Madras Native Infantry, severely.

The Chinese force consisted of the following number, as near as I have been able

to gather; the Tartar army are those marked with an asterisk.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| From | Szechuen . . . . . | 10,000 |
| ,, | Kweichow . . . . | 5,000 |
| ,, | Hoopih . . . . . | 5,000 |
| ,, | Honan . . . . . | 5,000 |
| ,, | Kwangse* . . . . . | 5,000 |
| ,, | Keangse . . . . . | 10,000 |
| | | 40,000 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Probably of this number there were not, of fighting men, more than . . . . | 30,000 |
| Add to which,— | |
| *Canton Garrison . . . . | 4,000 |
| *Viceroy's troops . . . . | 4,000 |
| Fooyuen's troops . . . . | 3,000 |
| Te-tuk's . . . . . . | 3,000 |
| Hong, Salt and Chinchew merchants' contingent . . . . | 5,000 |
| Making, in round numbers, a grand total of fighting men . . . . . | 49,000 |

This force, under the command of Yi-shan and his colleagues, was to oppose the British handful of 2,753 men, aided by a few ships. To the Chinese force ought fairly to be added the 25,000 armed villagers.

The ransom, as before stated, which was to be paid for the safety of the city, was 6,000,000 dollars.

| | $ |
|---|---|
| Towards this sum the authorities paid in sycee, out of the imperial treasury . . | 4,000,000 |
| The remaining 2,000,000 being squeezed from the Hong merchants, and following sources, viz. :— | |
| Howqua . . . . . . | 820,000 |
| Pwankequa . . . . . . | 260,000 |
| Samqua, Saoqua, Footae, and Gowqua, each 70,000 dollars . . . . | 280,000 |
| Mowqua, Kingqua, Mingqua, and Punhoyqua, each 15,000 dollars . . | 60,000 |
| Cash in the Consoo treasury, being taxes on the foreign trade, and intended to pay the debt of Bankrupt Hong merchants | 380,000 |
| Samqua, Saoqua, Footae, and Gowqua, each gave obligations for 50,000 dollars, to be reimbursed from the first surplus in the Consoo funds, or offset against any duties they may owe to the Consoo . . . . . . | 200,000 |
| | 6,000,000 |
| In addition to which, the indemnity to British merchants and government for property destroyed . . . . | 628,372 |
| Indemnity to foreigners, including the value of the Bilbaino . . . | 41,243 |
| Total . | $6,669,615 |

The whole of this sum was paid on or before the end of June. The sum of six millions being for the ransom of the city, was certainly independent of any claims that should hereafter be made for the value of the opium destroyed by Lin. It was evidently a droit of the crown, and, as such, the whole expedition had hoped that her majesty's advisers would award a most handsome proportion if not the whole to those, who had in the acquisition of it encountered unequalled fatigue, sickness, and death. For in what other way can the soldier or seaman be substantially rewarded than by sharing among them, that which their indomitable spirit has acquired.

That Yishan would make a true report to the emperor of the foregoing proceedings was not to be expected, but it was hardly to be imagined that he would forward to Pekin such statements as will be found in Appendix L.

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# CHAPTER IV.

## CANTON, MACAO, AND HONG KONG.

Chinese Picture of the Ta pie kwei tsze too—Lines on the same—City of Canton—Factories—Suburbs of Canton—Hospitals—Lepers—Appearance of City—Temples—Population—Frequency of Fires—Macao—Chinese Authorities—Senate—Young Hebe—Situation of the City — Chinese Quarter— Defences—Roads — Population—Women—Trade—Hospitals—Temple of Matsoe-poo—Legend—Camoens' Cave—Tanka-boats—Chinese new Year—Curious Winter Dress—Game of Shuttle-cock—Sing-song—Watchmen—Artisans — Chinese Doctor — Cupping—Carrying Baskets — Delicacies — Beggars — Conjurors and Jugglers—Death of Sir Fleming Senhouse—Return of Sir Gordon Bremer—Modeste quits the Typa—Typhoon—Young Hebe dismasted—Wreck of the Louisa Cutter—Sufferings of her Crew—Their Ransom—Hong Kong—Effect of Typhoon—Escape of Her Majesty's Schooner Starling—Natives saved by good Success—Cruizer saves ten Chinamen—Population of Hong Kong—Improvement of the Island.

So while the wat'ry wilderness he roams,
Incens'd to seven-fold rage the tempest foams;
And o'er the trembling pines, above, below,
Shrill through the cordage howls, with notes of woe.
Now thunders, wafted from the burning zone,
Growl from afar, a deaf and hollow groan!
The ship's high battlements to either side
For ever rocking, drink the briny tide:
Her joints unhing'd in palsied languors play,
As ice dissolves beneath the noontide ray.—FALCONER

THOUGH the proceedings related in the former Chapter, by the bad faith of the

commissioners, had been forced upon the English, and had caused the expedition to the northward to be for the time abandoned, yet it cannot be regretted, having we trust proved to the Chinese that treachery is never ultimately successful, as well as the utter inutility of their offering resistance to us in the Canton river. It gave also a promise of the trade proceeding, without any material annoyance, when the fleet should sail, for which step preparations were making; the arrival of Sir Gordon Bremer, with reinforcements from Bengal, being daily looked for.

Some artful Chinese, playing on the vanity of their countrymen, commenced making a honest penny by selling prints, representing the ships of war and steamers, with another professing to set forth the *Ta pie kwei tsze too*, or "Sketch of the great rout of the devils." Truth can hardly be expected in a picture by a poor artist, when we see the edicts filled with false representations of the grossest kind issued by the mandarins themselves; should an artist, however, be found

inclined to represent things truly, and show the celestial heroes in full flight, no huckster would dare to hawk them about.

In the wood-cut before us, the rules of perspective are all set at naught: the small village of Neishing is placed on the right, in a line with which are two others, and three more *over-head*, or in what is intended for the distance. Near Neishing, in a river flowing along the top of the villages, is a British man-of-war and steamer; in the foreground a small boat, supposed to be cut in two by the Chinese shot, and going down head foremost. Chinese troops are sallying out in all directions, armed with spears, matchlocks, shields, and some with the famous double-swords; while others are bearing flags, with the word, *yung*, i. e. "brave," in Chinese characters, upon them. A few foreign soldiers, distinguished by their awkward-looking shakos, are scattered here and there; one lies with his head off; some two or three are trying to escape, others to defend themselves, while the remainder are quietly meeting their fate. Not a single Chinese appears to have fallen,

though one fellow looks as if he had just been wounded There is attached to it the following descriptive lines :—

The English barbarians excited commotion,
Outrageously opposing all divine principles;
On the third day of the fourth moon,
They seditiously attacked the city of Rams.
The sanctity of the god of the north was displayed*,
The sunken rocks quickly broke their vessels.
Moreover, as they entered into Neishing,
Their sanpans grounded on the shoals,
While the devilish soldiers were completely worsted.
On the sixth day of the moon†,
They fired their rockets into the city;
One gun gave even three reports;
Heaven rained down red rain,
And extinguished the fire of their guns;
The lads on the north of the city,
Rousing their valor, drove these devils before them.
From the *white cloud hills*,
The heavenly Lord poured down his rain,
And many hundred devilish barbarians
Were by it utterly annihilated.
The head of one was thrust into a cage,
It was their great chief Bremer.

* A shot from the English ships knocked off the arm of one of the idols in the Budhist temple; the Atalanta getting aground near Dutch Folly shortly after, these superstitious people attributed it to the wrath of their gods.

† May 26.

At this their courage and hearts became as water,
Routed, they threw off their clothes and fled.
Our people rousing their martial valor,
From all places cut off retreat,
And the whole crew were clean swept away.
The devil-ships all fled
Far beyond the Tiger's gate.
Heavenly justice is hard to endure;—
And the climate at this time being pestilential,
Many of them died of grievous diseases,
Sent to chastise them by the indignant gods.
Henceforth peace will reign throughout the land:
Every one may enjoy an honourable life,
And the people of the central lands be very happy.

From this poetical effusion, we will turn to a more true description of the city of Kwang-choo-foo, or Canton, which is about seven miles in circumference, including the old and new city, and surrounded by a wall, a branch of which separates the ancient from the modern city. The southern face of this wall runs east and west (parallel with the Chou-keang or Pearl river) from the eastern corner of the factories, until it reaches the French Folly. The eastern and western sides extend nearly at right angles to it, while the northward face forms a crescent, convexing towards the heights. Creeks or rather fetid

canals, from the north-eastern and north-western angles, run in front of the side walls, discharging themselves into the river: these are intersected by a canal, which separates the new and old cities. Beyond these walls on the south, east and west, are extensive suburbs. The ancient city has one main street, extending east and west from the Ching-se to the Ching-tung gates, which is called the Straight Street of Benevolence and Love. From this at right angles streets of equal breadth extend to the Ching-pih, or north-gate, and the Seaow-pih, or small north-gate, the intermediate spaces being occupied by sundry narrow lanes and streets.

In the suburb of the south-western angle of the old city wall stand the foreign factories, which are good substantial buildings. The British factory in particular has a handsome appearance from the river, and contains some fine and spacious public rooms. From the confined spot which the factories, or thirteen hongs as they are termed by the Chinese, occupy, they would be totally inade-

quate to accommodate a greater number of merchants, on any increase of trade taking place. This circumstance, had it not been for the cession of Hong Kong, must have become a subject of discussion with the local authorities. The whole of these buildings are the property of Howqua, by whom they are let at an exorbitant rent to foreigners, netting a very handsome fortune to their owner.

The greater part of this south-western suburb has been reclaimed from the river; and many of the houses are erected on piles immediately above high-water mark. During the freshes, therefore, they are subject to sudden inundations, and consequently in that season are very sickly. Many of the streets are named from the trade carried on there; Carpenters' square, Apothecaries-street, &c China-street and Hog-lane are well known to all readers of works on China,—the former famous for all the beautiful articles in ivory and silk so much esteemed in England,—the latter for the bacchanalian orgies in which the seamen are encouraged to

indulge by the vendors of the vile shamsoo and medicated spirits which are sold in this filthiest of places. The gay gilt sign-boards, which once gave a flaming appearance to these streets, have been removed by orders from the authorities, as has been before stated.

In the eastern suburb are three hospitals, viz., the Foundling, receiving about 300 children; the Yang-tse-yuen, a retreat for aged and infirm persons; and the Ma-foong-yuen, or hospital for lepers, which is said to contain 300 of them. These poor wretches, the moment the disease appears, become outcasts from society, and even from their families.

The greater part of the buildings in the city have a mean and shabby appearance, being miserably low, and badly constructed; the eye of the spectator is only relieved, in a few instances, by the better-looking appearances of the government offices and the houses of the principal mandarins. Amongst the temples may be noticed the hideous red five-storied pagoda of Woo-tseng-low, situated close to and about the centre of the

north wall, a most unsightly building. In the north-western side of the city, and near the Fooyuen's house, is Kuâng-heaou-tse, or Temple of resplendent filial duty; while a lofty pagoda, but which is in fact the minaret of a mosque, stands on the south side of the main street. This mosque was erected by the Arabs during the Tang dynasty; the worshippers of the Prophet are about 3000, and well spoken of by their fellow-citizens. In the new city stands the Wan-show Koong, or Hall of ten thousand years, the walls and furniture of which are painted yellow, it being dedicated to the majesty and long life of the emperor. In addition to these are two Budhist temples, one of considerable extent on the Honan side of the river, and nearly opposite to the factories, and the other in the suburb about due west from them.

The population of this city and suburb, with the dwellers upon the water, have been estimated at about one million; but I am inclined to think that such calculation is about 200,000 more than the actual number.

Fires are frequently occurring, both from accident and incendiarism, and are more particularly dreaded from the houses being mostly composed of wood. Numerous fire-engines have been imported from England, of which the Chinese make very fair imitations.

The settlement of Macao, or Gaou-Moon, under the flag of Portugal, as I have before stated, is part of the Island of Heang-shan, on which the Portuguese were allowed to make a settlement, through the connivance of the mandarins, about the year 1537, paying to the Chinese a ground-rent of 500 taels per year. The mandarins, however, annually inspect the Portuguese fortresses, and levy duties on the shipping in the port. By an imperial edict, the arrivals are confined to twenty-five Portuguese vessels yearly; they do not, however, amount to above half that number. The celestial authority is represented by a sub-prefect, who resides at Casa-blanca, and a Tso-tang, who lives within the town, to keep a watchful eye on the inhabitants; nor can the Portuguese erect or

pull down any buildings without permission from the Chinese.

It would therefore be absurd to suppose that the Portuguese possess the sovereignty of Macao; the only symptom of which is the right to govern their own subjects and foreigners by the laws of Portugal. The Chinese population are completely under their own mandarins, who must be consulted before any of the black-haired race can be punished. Yet the Portuguese assume all the forms of government; the authority of Portugal being represented by a governor, who is assisted in his arduous duties by a senate and judges.

The senate assemble in an enormous building, and are often as long in debate as if the interests of nations depended on their councils. On one occasion, when the Young Hebe, tender to the flag-ship, a schooner of about 50 tons, wished to enter the inner harbour for security from an expected typhoon, this august body was in discussion all night on the mighty subject; and it was only in consequence of the strong remonstrance of the

commodore to the governor on the impropriety of such an unfriendly act towards an ally of the Portuguese nation, that the point was yielded. The commandant of the fort at the entrance of the harbour, having threatened the officer in command of the Hebe, that he would fire into the schooner if she attempted to enter, was assured by that gentleman that, on his doing so, the compliment would be immediately returned.

The peninsula of Macao is formed of two barren rugged hills, joined by a neck of land which slopes towards the city on either side; on this the city is situated, extending from shore to shore. The houses are well constructed of brick or stone, but all are covered with a white cement. The buildings on the south-eastern side of the city stand a few yards from the beach, and extend round the shores of the bay, where a fine promenade is formed in front of them, called the Praya Grande. Many other narrow streets run up the sides of the hilly neck, having good and substantial houses, but the paving is truly horrible;—indeed, in what Portuguese city is it otherwise?

Along the shores of the inner harbour are numerous wharfs and warehouses.

Macao has more the appearance of a European city than any I know of in our Oriental possessions, for, unlike their European brethren, the Portuguese make no difference in the construction of their houses, whether they are on the broiling plains of the East, or the more temperate banks of the Tagus. The place has in all thirteen churches, and bigotry and priestcraft reign paramount.

The Chinese portion of the city, in the north-west side of it, is a labyrinth of narrow lanes in which the stranger may easily lose his way. Every description of articles of Chinese production or manufacture may be purchased and through these passages a constant stream of population, buyers and sellers (for there are few idlers amongst the Chinese), is passing all day long.

The defences of the town consist of five forts; and from the natural strength of their position, if well provisioned, they might be made almost impregnable. As the forts are at present built, many a weak point may be

discovered by the eye of the inquisitive engineer.

A tolerably good road leads from the Praya Grande round the western side of the peninsula to the barrier, and thence returns along the eastern to the opposite side of the city. This may be said to be the only part on which the inhabitants can enjoy equestrian exercise. Several horses and ponies are kept by the British residents, who also have a number of English cows, *giantesses* amongst the celestial quadrupeds. The population may be taken at thirty-five thousand, of whom only about five thousand can in any way be called Portuguese subjects, and these intermarry and blend with the natives until the distinction is almost completely obliterated. I think the females of these half-casts are, taken individually, or in a body, the plainest women I ever saw.

The trade of this place has been fast sinking into decay, and is altogether in a very depressed state. The late disputes between the British and Chinese have given a slight reaction to it, and the owners of the houses have

been reaping a golden harvest, from the exorbitant rents charged to the foreign residents.

The new and increasing settlement of Hong Kong will soon deprive them of this last hope, and the city of Macao will remain but as a memento of what it has been. At present, however, the inhabitants of China-street in Canton, have established shops there, and every description of Chinese curiosity may be purchased. It was not an unpleasant lounge, though it generally proved an expensive one, to wander through these shops in a morning. Resolutely to start with empty pockets was of no use; one was certain to be tempted, and the ever ready "Can sendee, then catchee tolha," removed all suggested difficulties.

A large house had been hired and fitted out as a naval hospital, besides which there is one supported by voluntary subscriptions, under the direction of the Medical Missionary Society. In this humane institution natives and Europeans are equally received.

Among the lions of Macao, the temple of the goddess Matsoo-poo, in the village of

Ama-ko, is deserving of notice. This temple and its adjuncts, as will be seen in the frontispiece, faces the inner harbour, on and about the beautiful hill of Ama-ko, the rocks of which, interspersed with rich foliage, are grouped in the most grotesque forms fancy can imagine. A winding path, with flights of handsome, easy steps, leads to the summit of these rocks; while the mind of the explorer is amused by the variety of miniature temples, altars, and inscriptions, which he passes in his ascent. The beauties of this spot have often called forth the poetical powers of the visitors.

These temples owe their origin to a seaman in a junk, who was proceeding from a city in the Fokien province, where the goddess Matsoo-poo is worshipped. One of her effigies was on board his vessel, which through ignorance and misfortune could not make her port until all the crew had perished, save the one spoken of, who clung to the image of the goddess for protection, and was saved by her powerful aid. The tempest having subsided he found that the junk had

drifted towards Macao, where he immediately landed, taking the image of the goddess with him, and deposited it under a rock, the only temple he could provide, near the village of Ama-ko.

Some years afterwards an astronomer, learned in occult and celestial lore, discovered to the Emperor Teënke, that, in the province of Kwang-tung was a lake abounding with the richest pearls. The emperor forthwith dispatched one of his most confidential servants to search for this wonderful place. In the course of his wanderings he passed a night at the little village near the rock under which the image of the goddess rested. During the night Matsoopoo appeared to him in a dream, and informed him that the pearls would be found in a lake at Hopoo, in Keaou-chow. Early in the morning he arose, and proceeded with the greatest haste to the indicated spot where he collected many thousand most valuable pearls. From his gratitude to the goddess for her secret intimation, arose the first temple at Ama-ko.

About twelve years ago this temple had, from the lapse of years, fallen into great decay; when the Fokien and Taychew merchants subscribed a large sum, to erect a new fane to their favourite goddess. This was the origin of the present buildings; the upper one being dedicated to the goddess Kwanyin; the middle one is the temple of Universal Benevolence; and the lower one is named after the village in which it stands. Buildings forming, in some measure, wings to the temple, contain the image of the goddess Matsoo-poo, and they also serve as residences for several priests, who attend to present the offerings of the superstitious, and to keep the temples clean.

The traveller will hardly quit Macao without paying a visit to the cave of Camoens, being the spot, which, during his exile, formed the retreat of this exquisite but most unfortunate poet. Here the greater part of the *Luciad* was written, and many of those beautiful sonnets were composed, which have been so elegantly rendered into English by Lord Strangford.

In calling this Camoens' cave, I have fallen with others into the general misnomer; for the good intention, but bad taste, of the present owner has gone far to destroy the romantic appearance of the exile's retreat, which he had fixed between two high rocks, cleft and separated by one of nature's freaks. Who can fancy the genius of poetry to have poured forth its strains in the place with its present appearance, all the little roughnesses in the rock being filled up with plaster and white-wash;—can there be two words or deeds more unpoetical than these?

In an ornamented niche, inclosing the identical spot where the poet sat, is a bronze bust of Camoens; while an inscription in gold records the birth, genius, and death of this victim of the tender passion; who, through an unfortunate attachment, after spending his blood in the hard-fought battles of his country, is reported to have quitted it, exclaiming, "Ingrata patria, non possidebis ossa mea." The garden that surrounds this grotto, situated to the northward of the town, a little beyond the Church of St.

Antonio, is, indeed, a beautiful little retreat, —an oasis in the desert,—and from the kindness of the gentleman to whom it belongs is open to the public.

The cave itself is situated on the side of a gently sloping hill, on the top of which is a small, modern, quadrangular summer-house, commanding a most beautiful and extensive view of the surrounding country. To the south-westward are seen the Typa, the inner harbour crowded with every variety of native craft, with the opposite shore of the Lapa with its verdant hills. On the northward, we observe that memento of celestial jealousy, the barrier, with the small Chinese town of Tseenshan to the westward of it. While looking towards the east, the beholder is enchanted with the wide expanse of sea, studded with numerous islands, the blue outlines of Lintin or Lantao appearing in the distance.

The tanka boats, from their particular construction and crew, are deserving of notice. Should the wanderer in Macao wish for an aquatic excursion, with the pleasures of female

society, he may in one of them enjoy both, these craft being *manned* with women. "Tanka" is Chinese for an egg; and these boats being built in the shape of half a one cut longitudinally, are not inaptly named. They are neatly decked over, and surrounded with a high bulwark, having a sliding tilt-shaped top of bamboo, for the convenience of its being moved backwards or forwards at pleasure, sheltering the passenger, who is seated under it, from the sun and rain, or the gaze, if he wishes it, of the passer by. At night it becomes the bed-room of the fair occupants, two of whom, but sometimes more, are generally in these boats; and when the tanka is in motion, one, seated on a low stool at the bow, pulls with a short paddle, while the other at the stern, with a long oar, sculls and steers the boat. These twin damsels guide their tiny bark with great skill and dexterity,

Charming each heart, and delighting each eye.

They are generally good-humoured and kind: but woe to the unlucky wight who may happen to offend them, for no woman can use the weapon of the sex to better advan-

tage. He is sure to be overwhelmed with a volley of Chinese Billingsgate, interlarded with all the terms of opprobrium that, from their intercourse with foreigners, they have culled from their different languages.

As regards their dress, they wear the universal large jacket and trowsers common to the Chinese people,—generally of a blackish brown colour; a figured handkerchief also passes over the head, and is fastened under the chin. This part of the dress has probably been borrowed from the Portuguese, the females of which nation, until within late years, were never to be seen in a bonnet. To the arrangement of their head-gear these little coquettes pay much attention, the matron and maid being distinguished as before described. Their feet are by nature small, neither has art assisted in reducing them. These damsels are generally barefooted; and as they seldom visit *terra firma*, except to procure water, or other articles of provision, they do not much feel the want of shoes. In their dresses and boats they are scrupulously clean; and they may frequently be seen up

to their knees in water, scrubbing the outside of their nicely white abodes. But, from general report, I cannot award to them the palm of virtue; their morals not bearing a strict investigation.

Immediately on my arrival at Macao after being wounded, the Chinese new year commenced. This is for ten days a general season of holiday keeping and feasting amongst this extraordinary people. It is the time when the trader must settle his affairs; and woe to the credit of the poor man who is not on that day prepared to clear off all demands on his purse. The rejoicing and noise in the hotel at which I was lodging, from the junketting and jovialty of the servants, was exceedingly annoying; and the constant discharge of fireworks from sundown to sunrise, and from thence to sunset, nearly distracted me. These fireworks were principally small Chinese crackers, with much longer ones amongst them, which in the *feu de joie* of crackers, occasionally exploded like the report of a heavy gun.

During this holiday-keeping, the street from the windows of my room, had a most lively appearance, and particularly so, as the Chinese were passing and repassing in their gayest apparel. From its being the cold season, their usual clothing was much increased, one part of which added materially to the grotesque appearance of the wearer. It consisted of leggings secured at the ankle, similar to the tight pantaloon. It was then drawn up to the upper part of the thigh, being cut in an angular shape, from the inside of the leg to the hip, from whence a strap secured it to the upper part of the dress, consequently their loose and large *inexpressibles* hung out in a most extraordinary manner. It appeared to me the only part of the dress in which the Chinese indulge in a variety of colours. The whole figure, when thus dressed, was in the eyes of a stranger truly ridiculous. The lank spindle shanks, with the thick shoes, short jacket, just reaching to the hip, small cap, fitting close to the shaven crown, with the long tail dangling behind nearly to the

ground, made them look more like monkeys than human beings.

In a large open space before the windows, the Chinese would frequently indulge in a novel game of shuttle-cock. Seven or eight forming a ring would throw the shuttle in the air: the object then was to keep it up by striking it with the hands or feet; but they were no adepts at this game, their very thick shoes being much against their activity. In the Straits of Malacca, I have seen the Malays keep up a bamboo ball for a great length of time, twisting the feet in the most extraordinary manner while kicking at it. It is a game that requires much suppleness of limb, and a great deal of activity.

There was also a small temporary cajan shed erected in sight, a sing-song* being opposite to it. To this building, when finished, a rich Chinese family sent miniature pagodas and other tasty ornaments, made of wood and coloured paper; before each of these was a gaudily coloured round pillow, with a firework in the centre of it. When all

* A kind of Chinese play.

was ready these pillows were brought out, one at a time, and the match being lit, it was placed on the ground and exploded, throwing up a small feathered arrow on which was marked its respective prize, and whoever caught it received the specified ornament. One arrow, however, might be considered a blank, as the party catching it had to provide a similar entertainment the following year. Though a vast concourse was assembled, only a particular class sought after these arrows.

Another great source of annoyance to the stranger in Macao arises from the watchmen, who perambulate the streets through the night, striking every minute a round and hollow piece of wood, thus announcing to the thieves their proximity, and destroying all hopes of sleep to the invalid.

In wandering through the streets of this city you cannot but remark the number of itinerant workmen and pedlars of all kinds. We may mention first the money-changer, seated behind a table with one or two drawers, and his bank consisting of piles of cash. Then, there is the perambulating blacksmith,

with his small portable forge, the bellows and anvil being slung at one end of a pole, at the other a basket containing coals, old iron, pan for the fire, &c. When called upon for his services he at once prepares his fire-place, in shape not unlike old Neptune's crown, then inserting the mouth-piece of his circular bellows at the corner he puffs away. The anvil is a small square piece of iron fixed on a block of wood, while the water requisite for his trade is contained in an earthen pot; and this, when disengaged, is used to boil his dinner in. With these slight means he will turn a trifling job very neatly out of hand.

The ambulatory barber is also constantly on the move, with a small chest of drawers containing his razor, brush, soap, and a set of instruments for cleaning the ears. When occupied in his vocation, should he not be furnished with his own apparatus for heating water, he will get permission to boil it at the nearest blacksmith's forge or cook's fire, probably shaving the owner's crown for the boil. The Chinese razor is the most un-

sightly thing that can well be imagined,—simply a small piece of triangular iron, with a very thick back, opening and shutting into a round wooden handle; yet with this they will make a very clean shave.

To complete the picture, add cooks with their kitchens; pastrymen with their deep red boxes, filled with a great variety of sweetmeats; a migratory glass-mender, with his basket of tools and rivets, with which I have seen the shade of an argand lamp that was apparently shattered to pieces most neatly repaired. In short, to form a true idea of the scene, every trade and employment may be included.

In the square facing the senate house, a medical practitioner had, during my temporary sojourn at Macao, established himself, and dealt out medicines and charms of every description. He sate on a mat on the ground with his simples around, contained in papers neatly folded up, with several small jars and a store of pitch-plaisters; near him burnt a large bunch of joss-sticks, and scrolls of papers, setting forth the excellence of his art,

were strewed around. This worthy aspired not to a table, though by that means he would, in China, have risen a step in medical art. He rather preferred trusting to the witchery of his eloquence, and he had some grounds for this; for he quickly convinced his hearers of the power of his art, and boluses, powders, and pitch-plaisters became in great demand. The pills were the most unconscionable things of the kind I have ever seen, none of them being less than a boy's marble. Some of these empirics have a peculiar method of cupping: they use two wooden cylinders, which, after having some lighted paper burnt in them, are applied to the intended spot; and upon their removal after a short time two bumps or areolæ will be found formed, which are then punctured with needles, and the mouth applied to the spot to draw the blood. A few tchen or cash generally pay the doctor for his services.

Innumerable venders of fruit and vegetables are passing to and fro with their baskets slung on their long sticks, uttering the peculiar cry of their stock. The method of

carrying their baskets, and, indeed, every kind of burthen, seems peculiarly to be understood by the Chinese. Water, which is an article required to be brought to many houses in Macao, is always carried in this way, nor do they spill a drop out of the fullest buckets. The smallest children may be seen with their tiny baskets and miniature loads trudging steadily along. Should any difficulty arise from a difference in the weight of the baskets, the heaviest one is moved a little nearer the body, or should one basket become empty or be sold to a customer with its contents, the nearest stone is slung and attached to the vacant end of the stick.

The markets furnish many extraordinary delicacies, amongst which may be classed the hinder quarters of frogs; and when you have once got over the English aversion, and consider the little animals as fit for food, they will be found to make a remarkably delicate curry, the meat of which is much whiter than the flesh of the youngest chicken. These frogs, or field-hens, as they are called by the Chinese, are regularly fished

for. The angler being furnished with a rod and line, attaches to the latter a young frog, which, being bobbed about in the paddy-fields, is quickly seized upon by his larger brethren, who, by thus giving way to their propensities of cannibalism, are soon lodged in the baskets of their catchers, in their turn to furnish a meal for a more powerful animal.

The greatest nuisance of all in Macao is the number of beggars that infest the streets, where the most horrible objects of deformity are constantly to be met. Lisbon is the only city in which I have ever seen anything to be compared with it. One poor creature used to drag himself along on all fours, and his whining cry for alms might be heard for hundreds of yards off, as he went his daily rounds. The Chinese beggar possesses the curious privilege of entering any shop, and there making a continued noise with a powerful rattle; and this he continues until the shopman, worn out by the clatter, gives him money,—a single tchen or cash is sufficient. In this trial of rattle *versus* till, I need hardly say the former is generally successful, more

particularly so if any purchasers are in the shop. On one occasion, I *do* recollect to have seen the shopman wear out the patience of the noisy applicant. In this case, the most perfect expression of resignation was assumed during the infliction, but not the smallest attempt was made to remove the sturdy beggar from his post; he at length, without uttering a word, walked off to inflict his horrid din on some less iron-nerved individual.

The conjurors and jugglers of China are exceedingly skilful, and I have seen many wonderful feats of legerdemain performed by them; but were I to endeavour to describe them I should never get the Modeste out of the Typa. Her long sojourn at that health-giving anchorage had quite renovated the crew. The ship had been painted, and, after much scrubbing, all symptoms of the river-mud were removed. None but those who have been for months in these muddy waters can fully appreciate the pleasure of once more seeing the fine clear blue of the sea.

Captain Sir H. Le Fleming Senhouse,

K.C.H., expired at Hong Kong, on the 13th of June, from a fever contracted during his arduous duties on the heights of Canton. His remains were interred at Macao on the 17th, with all due military honours. A fund was subsequently raised amongst the officers of the army and navy, and a handsome monument erected therewith to the memory of this distinguished officer.

On the 18th of June, Sir Gordon Bremer returned from Bengal in the Queen steamer, and reinforcements were daily expected. On the 22nd, it was notified that Sir Gordon was appointed from England joint plenipotentiary. A series of charges were forwarded by Yukeen, lieutenant-governor of Keängsoo, against Keshen; and a proclamation at the same time was issued, offering rewards for the heads of our high officers*. Lungwan, one of the imperial commissioners, died about the end of the month; his death being attributed to his excesses.

The time at length arrived when the seamen and troops, under the goodness of

* See Appendix M.

Providence, had sufficiently recovered to render them fit for undertaking the contemplated movement to the northward; and the Modeste, on the 20th of July, quitted her anchorage in the Typa, on her passage to Hong Kong. The convalescent still remaining at the hospital, we brought up in Macao roads for the purpose of embarking them. The Louisa cutter sailed for Hong Kong, with the plenipotentiaries and their suites, accompanied by the Young Hebe, with a number of officers who had been on leave at Macao.

From the late appearance of the weather, which, for some days previous to our quitting the Typa, had been unsettled, with occasional very heavy squalls, many of the inhabitants had for some days prognosticated a typhoon. Scarcely a tanka was to be seen in the bay before the Praya Grande, where they generally swarm. The retirement of these boats from the beach to places less exposed is the surest indication of the coming storm.

The day, however, was ushered in with

a moderate breeze, which towards noon fell to a perfect calm, the whole surface of the river being as smooth as glass, with an intense, I may say red hot, sultriness in the atmosphere, which betokened a violent convulsion of the elements as about to take place. A light air in the evening allowed of our moving a short way out of the roads. As the sun set, there was a large segment of a bright red circle arising in the north, and by its unnatural glare indicated the approaching gale. At dusk, after the wind had blown in eddies, with tremendously heavy rain, and most awful lightning, even the little breeze that had been felt in the afternoon wholly dropped; when the ship was anchored, and preparation made for the expected tempest.

About 8 P. M., the wind began to rise, and continued increasing through the night with occasional heavy squalls. By 8 A. M. of the 21st, a typhoon was raging in all its majestic fury; tremendous foaming billows being blown in one continuous sheet over the ship, which, with two anchors a-head, was, under

these circumstances, riding remarkably easy. It was impossible to see five yards before you in any one direction, and frequently the fore-castle could not be discerned from the quarter-deck. About 9, the jib-boom was washed away; and we became seriously alarmed for the safety of the main-mast, which bent like a bow. By noon, the heart of the gale was broken; and though it still continued to blow with great violence, all anxiety for the safety of the ship ceased. The barometer had fallen during the gale as low as 28·80. This typhoon commenced at N.N.W., and veered round to the eastward, ending at S.E. At Macao, this peculiar wind had burnt and dried up the vegetation as if a stream of fire had been passing over the land.

The 22nd was employed in getting up topmasts, and replacing our jib-boom. The Young Hebe passed us in the afternoon, on her way to Macao, under jury-masts: she had anchored on the evening of the 20th, under Lantao, when driving down on the Island of Chung-chow, it was found neces-

sary to cut away her masts, being within a few yards of the shore. She had been by the veering of the gale fairly blown round this island, the under tow keeping her stern clear of the rocks. In the Typa there was scarcely a merchant-ship that was not wrecked or dismasted.

On the 23rd we weighed; and on the 24th, when entering the Lamma channel, fell in with H.M.S. Pylades, in search of the Louisa cutter, for whose safety the greatest anxiety prevailed, nothing having been heard of her since the commencement of the gale. The following brief sketch, extracted from a most interesting account of her fate, edited by Mr. Morgan (Sir Gordon Bremer's secretary), is all that I have space for in these volumes.

The cutter on her passage to Hong Kong, having carried away her main-boom, and in consequence of the increasing wind, had been obliged to anchor between Achow and Cheekow, having a reef of rocks astern. At about 10 in the morning of the 20th, she had drawn so near the

shore, that it became requisite to slip, and a small part of the sail was shown to scud under. In doing this, Mr. Owen, second master, was knocked overboard; when a tremendous sea at the same moment washing everything off the deck, and a second unshipping the tiller, the fate of all appeared to be sealed. At this time the vessel was within twenty yards of the boiling surf, when by the mercy of Providence they succeeded in re-shipping the tiller; which being put hard-a-port, the gallant little craft weathered the end of the island with the surf breaking over her. There was nothing left but to run for it. Poor Owen was seen to grasp a hen-coop, but no earthly aid could be given him.

Scarcely was she freed from this imminent danger when breakers a-head were reported, and the land again appeared towering a hundred feet above this tiny vessel; while the roaring of the sea, as it broke upon the precipitous wall of granite, was heard above the fearful noise of the raging tempest. The voice of Captain Elliot, who was standing forward, holding on by the fore-rigging, to

con the vessel, was now heard through the din, shouting in quick succession "Hard a-port!" "Hard a-starboard!" and the tempest swept down with concentrated violence, throwing the little bark nearly on her beam-ends, but she presently righted. For about 300 yards, they were driven along this frightful coast, expecting every moment to be their last.

Having cleared this awful danger, it became apparent from the long following sea, that they were clear of the islands. Hope began to dawn: the water was getting discoloured, and it was found they were in seven fathoms. The gale had a little moderated, and the course steered would carry them to Montanha, where they hoped to find shelter in some of the creeks, which were numerous about that part of the coast.

Suddenly high land a-head was reported. The tempest had again commenced howling and screaming through the rigging, eager for its prey, while the surf once more roared within 150 yards of the devoted vessel. Still she struggled on. An opening in the

land was seen through the haze, and at once pronounced by Captain Elliot to be a creek; but to reach it seemed impossible, as the sea kept sweeping them towards the rocks; on touching which the vessel would in a moment have been in a thousand atoms. The cutter was covered in the spray; a mighty blast rent the sails in twain. "Hard a-port!" was the order given; and, by the goodness of Providence, this second imminent peril was past. They were thus under comparative shelter, but drawing fast on the land. The remaining anchor was now let go: it momentarily checked her. An overwhelming wave nearly swamped the vessel. As the cable flew out, she neared, and struck within fifteen or twenty yards of the precipitous coast. The next sea threw her up, and bilged her on the rocks.

By great exertion, the whole of the shipwrecked party, twenty in number, succeeded in getting on a rock, free from all danger of the tempest. About half-past five, by the ebbing of the tide, a visit to the wreck became practicable, and a small quantity of

clothing and provisions were saved, including eight bottles of gin. A party which ascended the hills reported that not a vestige of a house could be seen; they, therefore, endeavoured to make themselves as comfortable as they could for the night. Having found in the precipice a fissure, through which a small mountain stream ran, in this they placed stones to fill it. A tarpauline saved from the wreck was then strapped across the entrance to this cavern, protecting it from the still raging typhoon. As many as it would contain, after wringing their clothes, sat down in it, and were covered with a large blanket. The remainder, rolling themselves up in others, laid down outside, exposed to the wind and rain, the latter of which descended in torrents through the night.

On the morning of the 22nd, the only remnant of the Louisa to be seen was her tafferel jammed between two rocks. Near the wreck was a sandy beach, strewed with fragments of numerous vessels; and the bodies of many drowned Chinese were amongst the rocks dreadfully lacerated.

To the great joy of all hands, two Chinese now made their appearance, and one of them was immediately recognised as a Macao boatman. He was at once offered a thousand dollars, if he could procure a fishing-boat to take them thither, which he at once agreed to do. The party shouldering the provisions they had saved, and putting on as many clothes as they could, accompanied their guide in single file over two hills, and as they came to the top of a third, a creek was opened to their view, with an extensive village on the banks. The moment they were seen, the women and children ran away screaming "Fanqui! Fanqui!" while the men, armed with bill-hooks, rushed up the path in hundreds, to meet these supposed marauders. The guide soon explained to his countrymen how matters stood. About sixty then passed on towards the wreck, while others employed themselves in stripping the party of all the clothing and articles they had, just leaving a sufficiency for common decency. In taking these clothes the commodore was knocked down

by them, and Mr. Morgan received a violent blow, for not complying with their demands as quickly as they wished.

Upon their entering a shed, their guide Mingfong gave them a meal of rice and salt fish, but stated that the wind was too high to take them then to Macao. Captain Elliot now increased the reward to two thousand dollars, if they conveyed them to Macao the moment the wind moderated; and there being no mandarins in the place, the party had no fear of a trip to Pekin. The plunderers through the day paid them frequent visits, to ascertain the use of many of the things they had robbed them of. The bodies of three Chinese had been found by them near the spot where the remnants of the poor Louisa lay. This circumstance caused much excitement; and it was found hard to convince them, that they had not been murdered by the Louisa's crew. The discovery of the cutter's arms was another subject on which they were very violent.

The commodore's black servant Joe puzzled them a good deal as to his sex; being a

Gentoo, his long hair was twisted up behind, and his ears decorated with rings, of which he was quickly despoiled.

The wind having moderated a good deal, it was finally arranged, that at daylight on the 23rd, two boats should be furnished them, for which their owners were to receive one hundred dollars each, and a ransom was to be paid of three thousand dollars for the party. At daylight they were all ready, and after a little delay the two boats made their appearance; but the owners now advanced the price of their hire to one hundred and fifty dollars, which was no sooner agreed to than the rascals increased it to two hundred, when Mingfong interfered, and abused his countrymen most lustily for their rapacity. At length all was arranged, and the Commodore, Captain Elliot, Mr. Morgan, and a servant took their departure for Macao, the rest of the crew remaining as hostages for the payment of the ransom money. In the boats they were compelled to lie down, and be covered over with mats; and most fortunate was it that this was done, for

about 2 P.M. a mandarin boat passed them, questioning the boatmen as to the number of wrecks along the coast, little dreaming what a prize was close by them,—the two British plenipotentiaries.

Nearing Macao, a lurcher was seen working to windward, and the boats gave way to get alongside, when, on approaching her, the Portuguese and Lascars were found drawn up under arms. They had taken them for Ladrones; but the moment they discovered who they were, welcomed them most heartily on board. The lurcher was soon anchored in the inner harbour, and the party landed at the fort. As soon as the officer on guard learnt the rank of the parties, he could hardly be prevented turning out the guard for Sir Gordon, who certainly did not appear very fit for the honour, being clothed in an old blue seaman's frock, white trousers, *i. e.* as white as they could be, having been worn for four such perilous days, and a low crowned hat. A vessel was immediately dispatched for the remainder of the crew, who were at the island of Ty-loo, on which

the cutter had been wrecked. They landed safely at Macao on the 25th. The Modeste arrived at Hong Kong on the 24th.

The effects of the typhoon had been most awful at this anchorage. The sea, which was usually so still, was then lashed into fury, and madly carried on the land far beyond its usual limits. The James Laing and Prince George dragged their anchors; and were totally lost on the island, at the west end of the bay; the Snarley-yow and Black Joke sharing a similar fate outside. Two transports, a brig, a schooner, and most of the captured junks brought from Canton were on shore on Hong Kong, in a spot usually not knee-deep. Numerous vessels, driving about in all directions, were dismasted, many totally so; among which were H. M. S. Sulphur, Royalist, and Algerine, the latter having been obliged to cut away her mast, when nearly touching the shore, towards which she had been driven.

On the land the houses were overturned and unroofed in every quarter, the inhabitants were calling in vain for the aid of their gods;

and the sepoys of the 37th Madras N.I., the greater part of whom were in hospitals, had the buildings blown down upon them. Providentially, only one man was killed. The shore was strewed with fragments of boats, while the mangled and lacerated bodies of those that once formed their crews might be seen in every direction. Truly was it a piteous sight!

The escape of H. M. S. Starling is deserving of particular notice, having been driven towards Mah-wan, on which, had she touched, all hands must have perished. The veering of the wind however favouring the measure, Lieutenant Kellet directed the cable to be slipped; and although unable to see any distance a-head, he shaped a course for the Cap-sing-moon channel, the entrance to which he fortunately made, and ran through. Keeping the main shore on board, the little vessel passed Toong-koo, and then altered her course for going up the river, the crew being employed in bending the cable to a boat's anchor, the only one on board; two guns were also lashed to the cable. When off

Fan-sy-ak, the Starling was brought up with this contrivance, by which she continued to ride until the gale subsided. When passing through the Cap-sing-moon passage several Chinamen on a wreck drifted by: this was no sooner perceived than the vessel was rounded to, her boat hoisted out amidst the raging storm, and these poor creatures rescued from a watery grave.

The loss of life amongst the Chinese was most awful, the whole coast being strewed with stranded vessels. The Good Success, which arrived at Macao immediately after the gale, had picked up a man on a piece of wreck, who proved to be a seaman of the schooner Rose, that had foundered with every soul on boad. She also saved forty-six of the natives from a dismasted and sinking junk.

On the 26th, it again blew a furious typhoon, but it was happily unattended by any other accidents to our shipping, though the barometer on board the Modeste fell to 28·50.

The Cruizer, which was off the Ladrones, had on its approach run out to sea, on her return she fell in with the section of a junk,

—one of the compartments described in a former part of this Narrative,—and from it rescued ten men, five of whom were on the outside and the others below; by their account they had been three days in this state.

Before proceeding to the northward I will attempt a short topographical account of Hong Kong, a British settlement that promises to rise rapidly in importance. This island, ceded to us by Keshen, as before stated, is about thirty-five miles east-north-east of Macao, and is about eight miles long and five broad. The first aspect of this island is forbidding; its rocky sides and mountainous elevations giving little promise of successful cultivation, but as the explorer rambles on he will find many rich and fertile spots. On the south side of the island the villages are tolerably numerous, that of Chek-choo containing about one thousand inhabitants. The whole population at the time of our first possession could not amount to more than three thousand, though, at the present moment, 1842, it is little under fifteen thousand. The inhabitants appear industrious

and are easily managed. Their former government consisted of a mandarin and a few soldiers, but they changed their rulers without evincing any symptoms of dissatisfaction, such is the general apathy of the Chinese character.

The bay of Hong Kong is a remarkably fine anchorage, situated between the north-western end of the island and the main-land. The usual entrance to this bay is from the southward through the Lamma Channel; but there is also a narrow and deep passage round the east end of Hong Kong passing close to Cowloon, while the Cap-sing-moon passage enters it from the westward. The peninsula of Cowloon forms the eastern end of the bay and is opposite to the centre of the island, from which it is distant about half a mile. This peninsula, with two forts, which were dismantled, was by the terms of the treaty to have been neutral ground; on the breach of faith of the Chinese it was seized by right of conquest, a garrison being kept in Fort Victoria, where many commissariat and other stores were deposited.

The site for the new or British town is on the south side of this bay and north side of the island. A good road was quickly made along the sea face, and a gaol, court-house, and other buildings, have been erected, while the sale of the town lands have given an opportunity to the merchants to erect their store-houses. An extensive town rapidly sprung up, and though several times destroyed by fire, a few days sufficed for it to arise from its ashes, the native artisans flocking to a spot that promises them so much employment.

The principal part of the town must necessarily stand on the side of the hill, but I do not see that it will be of any consequence, as a sufficiency of sea-frontage will be found for the store-houses. A good road now connects this fort with Ty-tam on the south side of the island, and where a very deep bay is formed, but too open and shallow to be adopted as a place of trade, yet from the fine sea-breeze that constantly sweeps its shores it will no doubt, ere long, become a favourite residence with the British mer-

chants, and marine villas spring up in every direction. Good water may be obtained in almost any part of this island, and the streams discharging themselves into the sea render the procuring of it easy.

On the 7th of June a proclamation appeared from Captain Elliot, declaring Hong Kong a free port; and, about the same time, Mr. Johnston, the second superintendent, was appointed acting governor, with an establishment of magistrates, harbour-master, clerks, and others. About the 23rd of June a Parsee gentleman, Herjeebhoy Rustomjee, Esq., in a most liberal manner presented twelve thousand dollars for the purpose of erecting an hospital for foreign seamen at Hong Kong, or any other British settlement in China.

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## CHAPTER V.

### CAPTURE OF AMOY AND CHUSAN.

Arrival of Sir William Parker—Major Malcolm proceeds to Canton—Sir Henry Pottinger's notice—Plenipotentiary joins the Expedition—Author quits Expedition—Fleet leave Hong Kong—Names and Number of Force—Arrival at Amoy—Officer and Flag of Truce—Answer—Proceed to the Attack—Ko-long-soo—Troops landed—Description of Battery—Mandarins commit Suicide—Citadel—Infanticide—Yen Pihtow—Sail from Amoy—Nemesis at Sheipo—Phlegethon at Keeto-point—Reconnoissance of Chusan—Modeste and Squadron—Attack and capture of Ting-hai—Bravery of Keo—Notices of Plenipotentiary.

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> That happy sun, said he, will arise again,
> Who twice victorious did our navy see:
> And I alone must view him rise in vain,
> Without one ray of all his star for me.—DRYDEN.

It became known in July that Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., was appointed sole plenipotentiary, and Rear-Admiral Sir William Parker, K.C.B., Commander-in-chief: the movement to the northward would therefore have been deferred until their arrival, which

was daily expected, had it not already been delayed by the typhoon, the injuries done to the ships requiring some time for repairs.

About 8 at night on the 10th of August the lights of a steamer entering the bay were seen by the fleet, and soon proved to be those of the Sesostris having Sir William Parker on board. Sir Henry had landed at Macao. The passage from England to China by the overland route had been performed by them in the astonishing short time of sixty-seven days. The mail arrived at the same time, and the hearts of all were made glad by the receipt of volumes of letters from old England; several officers were promoted from home, myself amongst the number. This intelligence was communicated to us by a handsome letter from the secretary of the First Lord, intimating that we had been thus rewarded for our services on the coast of China.

Fresh vigour was now infused into every movement. The expedition to the north was instantly decided on, and the equip-

ment of the damaged transports as rapidly forwarded. Major Malcolm, secretary to Sir Henry Pottinger, proceeded in the Nemesis to Canton, to notify to the authorities the appointment of the new plenipotentiary. The prefect, who had acted so prominent a part in negotiations, came post haste to have an interview with Sir Henry, but was received by Major Malcolm and informed that his rank was not sufficiently high to admit of such taking place; with ever-ready Chinese falsehood he passed it off by saying "he had come to chin-chin Elliot before he went away."

Sir Henry Pottinger's arrival was warmly hailed by all the British residents at Macao; and on the 12th of August he issued the following notice:—

"In taking charge of the offices of her majesty's sole plenipotentiary, minister extraordinary, and chief superintendent of trade in China, Sir Henry Pottinger deems it requisite and proper to publicly notify, that he enters on his important functions with the most anxious desire to consult the

wishes, and to promote the prosperity and well-being, as well as to provide for and secure the safety of all her majesty's subjects, and other foreigners, so far as the concerns of the latter can be affected by his proceedings, at this time residing in any part of the dominions of the emperor of China; and that he will be ready and happy, at all times and under all circumstances, to give his best attention to any question that may be submitted to him. At the same time it becomes his first duty to distinctly intimate, for general and individual information, that it is his intention to devote his undivided energies and thoughts to the primary object of securing a speedy and satisfactory close of the war; and that he therefore can allow no consideration, connected with mercantile pursuits, and other interests, to interfere with the strong measures which he may find it necessary to authorize and adopt towards the government and subjects of China, with a view to compelling an honourable and lasting peace.

"Sir Henry Pottinger is conscious, that among the persons to whom this notification is addressed, there are few individuals who are not as well qualified as himself, to form a correct estimate of the reliance to be placed on the agreement and promises of the provincial government of Canton. He has intimated to that government, that he is willing for the present to respect the existing truce, but that the slightest infraction of its terms will lead to an instant renewal of actual hostilities in this province; and it is accordingly to be borne in mind that such an event is not only highly probable, from the well understood perfidy and bad faith of the provincial officers themselves, but also because they may be compelled, at any moment, by orders from the imperial cabinet, to set aside and disavow their own acts. With these views and sentiments, it only remains for Sir Henry Pottinger to warn her majesty's subjects, and all other foreigners, against putting themselves or their property in the power of the Chinese authorities,

during the present anomalous and unsettled state of our relations with the emperor; and to declare, that if they did so, it would be clearly understood to be at their own risk and peril.

"Sir Henry Pottinger avails himself of this opportunity to announce, that the arrangements which have been made by his predecessor, connected with the island of Hong Kong, will remain in force until the pleasure of her majesty, regarding that island and those arrangements, shall be received. And on this point, Sir Henry Pottinger further desires to call the attention of all concerned, to the public notice issued by her majesty's plenipotentiary, on the 10th of June last.

"Dated at Macao, on the 12th day of August, 1841.

(Signed) "HENRY POTTINGER,
"*Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary.*"

Consultations took place between Sir Henry and the naval and military commanders-in-chief; and the Queen steamer

was appointed to convey her majesty's plenipotentiary, as he would accompany the expedition that was immediately to proceed to the northward.

On the 17th, being myself through promotion superseded, Lieutenant Birch joined the Modeste, who, by the subsequent advancement of Lieutenant Shute, has become first Lieutenant. There being no ship for me to be appointed to, and my wound being still very annoying, I took my passage in a vessel for England, but stayed by the squadron till they were well in the Lamma Channel, when Sir Gordon Bremer kindly giving me a passage in the Atalanta, I proceeded with him to Macao. While I rejoiced in my promotion, I grieved at parting with my old shipmates, whom I had anxiously hoped I should have had the honour of commanding in their future exploits. Early on the morning of the 21st of August, the Wellesley, towed by the Atalanta, proceeded to the Lamma channel, where she was anchored to await the rest of the squadron, a dead calm preventing them

from moving. The steamer immediately returned to the bay for the Blenheim.

About noon, the Queen steamer arrived from Macao, with Sir Henry Pottinger and suite, who was desirous of seeing the island; and he had also to make various arrangements with the commandant, Major-General Burrell, and the acting governor, Mr. Johnston, as to the defences and regulations of this rising place. Sir Henry, it was understood, was much pleased with the appearance and prospects of the new colony.

Shortly after noon, a light breeze sprung up, and the vessels began to move out of the bay, and by dark had all anchored round the flag-ship, with the exception of her majesty's ship Modeste, and one of the transports. The former having remained to complete the watering of the latter.

Want of wind again prevented a very early move on the 22nd; but they at length got fairly into the Lamma channel A piratical vessel was now seen plundering a

junk, and the Phlegethon was immediately dispatched to capture her, in which she succeeded, and brought her down to the Wellesley. She was then transferred to the Atalanta to be taken to Macao. The crew had escaped in a small boat to a neighbouring island on the Phlegethon's approach.

About 4 o'clock P.M., the Queen joined from Hong Kong, and the Nemesis approached through the eastern channel. It was a most beautiful sight to see these splendid ships, as they were getting into their different divisions. The transports being principally country ships*, were remarkably fine vessels. The appearance of the weather prognosticated a good passage to Amoy.

At 9 P.M., the Atalanta, with Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer's broad pennant flying, parted company from the fleet, which consisted of the following vessels, in three divisions, led by the Bentinck

* A term applied to all vessels belonging to ports in our Indian possessions.

surveying vessel, commander Richard Collinson:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wellesley | . 74 | Rear-admiral Sir William Parker, K.C.B., commander-in-chief, &c. Captain Thomas Maitland, C.B. |
| Blenheim | . 74 | Captain Sir Thomas Herbert, K.C.B. |
| Blonde . | . 42 | Captain Thomas Bourchier, C.B. |
| Druid . | . 44 | Captain Henry Smith, C.B. |
| Modeste | . 18 | Captain Harry Eyres, C.B. |
| Pylades | . 18 | Captain Talavera V. Anson. |
| Cruizer | . 16 | Captain Henry W. Giffard. |
| Columbine | 16 | Captain Thomas J. Clarke. |
| Algerine | . 10 | Commander Thomas H. Mason. |
| Rattlesnake | T.S. | Mr. James Sprent, master, R.N. |
| Sesostris | [illegible] | Captain Ormsby, H.E.C.S. |
| Phle[illegible]thon | | Lieutenant James J. Mc Clerverty, R.N. |
| Nemesis | | Lieutenant William H. Hall, R.N. |
| Queen | [illegible] | Mr. Warden, H.E.C.S. |

Marion, transport, with Lieutenant-general Sir Hugh Gough and staff.

In addition to the above were fifteen transports, with her majesty's 18th, 26th, and 55th regiments, a wing of the 49th, and Madras rifles, the guns, engineers, and artillery; besides which were six transports, carrying provisions for the force, and coals for the steamers.

The force left at Hong Kong and in the

river, under Captain Nias, C.B., consisted of the

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Herald . | . 26 | Captain Joseph Nias, C.B. |
| Alligator | . 26 | Captain Samuel P. Pritchard. |
| Sulphur | . 8 | Captain Edward Belcher, C.B. |
| Hyacinth | . 18 | Commander George Goldsmith. |
| Starling | . 8 | Commander Henry Kellett. |
| Royalist | . 10 | Commander Peter B. Stewart. |
| Young Hebe. | | |
| Houghly, steamer. | | |

A wing of the 49th, with the 37th Madras native infantry, and Bengal volunteers, were also quartered on the Island of Hong Kong.

This second northern expedition arrived off Amoy on the evening of the 25th, and stood in towards the harbour, anchoring about dark. The batteries fired a few rounds at the ships, which were returned by the Modeste; but as her shot fell short she discontinued firing.

The island of Amoy is situated in the upper part of an extensive estuary, on the coast of the Aukoi tea district; and on the south-western part of this island stands the town of the same name, which is one of

the third class cities of the empire. By reason of its excellent harbour and favourable position it appears well calculated for commerce. The outer town, or suburb, is divided from the city by a chain of rocks, through a pass in which there is a paved road connecting the two. The outer harbour, lying between the island of Koo-lang-soo and the main land of Amoy, skirts the outer town, but the city itself stands on the shore of the inner harbour, which deeply indents the island in an easterly direction.

Including the outer town and the north-eastern suburb, the city cannot be much less than ten miles in circumference; while the citadel which entirely commands this suburb, though itself commanded by hills within shot range, is nearly one mile in circuit. The walls, varying with the inequality of the ground, from twenty to thirty feet in height, are castellated. There are four gates having each an exterior one in an outwork at right angles to the inner gate. This method of defence has been

found in all the cities with which we are acquainted.

Early the following morning an officer of low rank, with a flag of truce flying in his boat, came off, with a message from the mandarins, to know what so large a force wanted in the inner waters; and if it was not for trade they were to loose sails, and go away immediately, "ere the celestial wrath should be kindled against them."

To this message the following answer was returned:—

"*On board H.M.S. Wellesley, off Amoy,*
*August* 26, 1841.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE ADMIRAL COMMANDING IN CHIEF OF THE NAVAL FORCES OF THE PROVINCE OF FOKIEN.

"The undersigned, Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., her Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary; Sir William Parker, commanding in chief the naval forces; and Sir Hugh Gough, commanding in chief the land forces of the British nation in these parts.

"There being certain differences subsisting between the two nations of Great

Britain and China, which have not been cleared up, the undersigned plenipotentiary, and the commanders-in-chief, have received the instructions of their sovereign, that unless these be completely removed, and secure arrangements made, by accession to the demands last year presented at Tientsin, they shall regard it as their duty to resort to hostile measures for the enforcement of their demands. But the undersigned plenipotentiary and commanders-in-chief, moved by compassionate feelings, are averse to causing the death of so many officers and soldiers as must perish, and urgently request the admiral commanding in chief in this province forthwith to deliver the town, and all the fortifications of Amoy, into the hands of the British forces, to be held for the present by them. Upon his so doing, all the officers and troops therein will be allowed to retire, with their personal arms and baggage, and the people shall receive no hurt; and whenever these difficulties shall be settled, and the demands of Great Britain fully granted,

the whole shall be restored to the hands of the Chinese.

"If these terms be acceded to, let a white flag be displayed from the fortifications.

(Signed) HENRY POTTINGER,
*Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary.*
WILLIAM PARKER,
*Rear-Admiral.*
HUGH GOUGH,
*Major-general.*"

At a very early hour, on the morning of the 26th of August, the plenipotentiary and commander-in-chief embarked on board the Phlegethon to reconnoitre the defences, which were found strengthened by every means that art could devise. The principal work was a stone battery, from eleven to twelve hundred yards in length, and situated on the south-western side of Amoy. This battery mounted ninety-six heavy guns. To the southward and eastward of this were several detached and smaller works, extending to Sandy Point;

while to the westward of it, on Red Point, was another very heavy fort of forty-two guns.

On the Island of Ko-long-soo, which is the key to Amoy, were some powerful forts, mounting in all seventy-six guns, which the Chinese were busily strengthening with sand-bag batteries. Many of these works flanked the sea line as well as the stone battery. On the Island of Cau-soo, and raking the passage, was another fort; while several were on the north shore, fronting the river, or inner harbour, Huan-tong-san. The whole was found to be a remarkably strong position.

The morning had been intensely hot without a breath of wind, but was succeeded in the afternoon by a pleasant sea breeze, when the squadron weighed, and stood in to its work of destruction. The Modeste had the honour to lead, followed closely by the Blonde and Druid, which ships were to engage the batteries on Ko-long-soo, and at the entrance of the inner harbour. The line-of-battle ships, with the

Sesostris, Queen, and Bentinck, were to attack the long batteries; the Nemesis and Phlegethon, filled with troops, and covered by the remaining ships, were to keep in readiness for disembarkation when ordered.

It was about 1 P.M., when the force weighed, the port division leading in, and exchanging a few broadsides with some batteries within range as they passed, and then proceeded on to silence Ko-long-soo*, to the batteries of which they ap-

* The Island of Ko-long-soo is thus described in a letter from an officer of the force, published in the *Calcutta Courier*, November 24, 1841:—

"The Island of Ko-long-soo is of an irregular oval form, stretching east and west, or nearly in such direction; it is about two miles long, and twice that distance in circumference. It consists of a mass of granite, which protrudes to a great height in several places in the form of immense rounded blocks. Among the rocks, under their shelter, were discovered a number of stone jars, with covers luted on. These jars contained perfect human skeletons disarticulated, each bone carefully packed, and numbered or marked with red paint. The island is naturally barren, but most excellent water abounds at a few feet from the surface,—a circumstance which Chinese industry has taken advantage of in every situation at all suited for any kind of cultivation. The

proached within pistol-shot. The Blonde grounded, but fortunately broadside on to the forts, when, to use the words of one of the officers of the Modeste, they went at it "hammer and tongs." After this had continued for a short time, the marines* under Captain Ellis, of that distinguished corps, were landed; on seeing which, numbers of the Chinese fled, while others of "the robust and brave" came down from the fort, spitting at, and picking up stones to pelt their attackers with. A volley from the marines soon convinced them of the stupidity of their proceedings, when they bolted after their less daring brethren.

The distance of the transports prevented Major Johnston, with the 26th, from landing

sweet potato, and a sort of dhall, are the principal products. In the villages, of which there are five, two of them large, trees are to be seen, preserved apparently for the shade which they afford. The guava flourishes in the gardens, and the vine, trained over trellis, is occasionally met with."

* The marines of the Wellesley, Blenheim, Blonde, Druid, and Modeste.

so quickly as the marines had done: they were, however, on shore soon afterwards, and assisted in clearing the remainder of the works; when, about 3 P.M., the British colours waved over the position. Captain Grigg, of H.M. 26th, is particularly spoken of in the despatches for having with twelve men driven out a large body of the enemy from a battery on this island.

The Modeste then weighed and ran into the inner harbour, where she engaged five or six batteries, speedily driving the men from their guns. Twenty-six deserted war-junks were in the harbour; one a two decker, mounting thirty-two guns. In all there were a hundred and twenty-eight guns in these vessels. The Algerine quickly followed the Modeste, as did the Blonde immediately she floated.

During this time the Wellesley and Blenheim, led by the Bentinck, to give the soundings, stood within four hundred yards of the long battery, anchoring by the stern, about the centre of it. The Sesostris and Queen had been for some time

sustaining the fire of this heavy work. At this point the Tartars stood remarkably well, nor were the forts silenced until about 4 P. M. The troops from the iron steamers landed in the neighbourhood of Lam-po-to, and took them in rear, when several of the garrison were bayonetted at their guns.

About this time, a party of seamen and marines from the ships were landed, under the command of Commander Fletcher*, immediately abreast of their ships; and as soon as they formed, charged right up to, and entered the fort by the embrasures, following their flying foes through the suburb into an open sandy spot, where the latter attempted a slight resistance, but were quickly again compelled to fly, making for the confined pass in the ridge,

* The following officers accompanied Captain Fletcher:—Lieut. Carmichael, R.N.; Lieut. White, R.M.; mates, Lord A. W. Beauclerk, S. S. L. Crofton, L. G. Halsted, and W. F. F. Jackson, midshipman, of the Wellesley. From the Blenheim, Captain Whitcomb, R.M.; mates, R. C. Revern, and T. A. St. Leger.

which separated the city from the suburbs. Towards this point, along a narrow causeway, a large body of the enemy, led by mounted mandarins, was seen retreating, closely followed by the general and his troops. The marines and seamen immediately opened a cross and flanking fire, by which three of the mandarins fell, and about thirty of their men, while the others broke up and fled in all directions. All the positions being carried, the troops were bivouacked for the night on the range between the chief city and suburbs.

The Pylades, Cruizer and Columbine were not idle during the time, as they engaged and silenced the batteries in the neighbourhood of the spot at which the troops landed. Having completed that duty, thev took up stations astern of the line-of-battle ships, and in front of the long sea wall.

During the operations, the vessels as they stood in were frequently annoyed by a fort on the summit of the ridge as they

respectively came within the range of its guns. It was now that a circumstance occurred, which tends to show how much may sometimes be effected by the daring courage of a single individual, and which I have much pleasure in recording as being the act of an old messmate and friend.

Lieutenant R. B. Crawford, R.N.*, serving as a volunteer on board the Phlegethon, commanded by Lieutenant M'Cleverty, R.N., volunteered his services during the height of the firing to land with a few picked men and take the fort by surprise, spike the guns, and hoist the British colours. His offer was not immediately accepted, but afterwards he obtained the *jolly boat with four hands*, who, though reluctantly, consented to go with him. On reaching the beach this officer, dashed up the hill alone, and rushing in at a

* Lieut. Crawford since his return to England has published a series of panoramic views of the capture of Amoy, which, from their truth and style of execution, do great credit to the gallant draughtsman.

postern-gate which he found open, instantly discharged his double barrelled fowling-piece and a brace of rifle pistols amongst forty or fifty Chinese, who were lolling and smoking between their guns. The enemy, not noticing the solitary situation of their daring assailant, rushed out through the opposite gate, and flying helter skelter down the hill, came in contact with a party who by that time had landed from the Phlegethon's gig. In the mean time, assisted by one of the men from the jolly boat who had now ventured to join him with the flag, Crawford displayed from the walls of the captured fort the British ensign which was opportunely greeted with three hearty cheers from the 18th on board the Nemesis, passing at the moment with Sir Hugh Gough, who is, reported to have exclaimed,—"There goes the ensign, the sailors have left us nothing to do." This occurred between two and three in the afternoon.

To return to the general narrative, the loss on the side of the Chinese was

very great: that of the British force amounted to one killed and sixteen wounded*.

The long battery, which from the sea had the appearance of a common wall strengthened with sand-bags, proved on examination to be a most masterly piece of masonry. It was a high, strong, and massive structure, composed of huge blocks of granite, with small low gun-ports, having a thick bank of earth between each of them, as high as the wall. Mud was laid on over each gun port, so as to prevent the shot from striking off splinters from the stones, which would have rendered it impossible for the cannoniers to stand to their guns. The shot of the ships had taken but little effect on the wall; their utmost penetration did not exceed sixteen inches; and

* Blenheim, 1 killed. Wellesley, wounded, Mr. S. S. L. Crofton, mate, severely; 2 men severely, 1 since dead. Modeste, wounded, 1 slightly. Bentinck, wounded, 1 dangerously. Phlegethon, wounded, W. H. Ryves, acting lieutenant. Nemesis, wounded, 1 slightly.
H.M. 18th Royal Irish, 2 wounded. 49th regiment, 7 wounded.

from the way in which it was strengthened it is more than probable that the ships might have fired till doomsday without any material injury to the defenders of the works, whose standing to their guns, as they did, is thus easily accounted for.

The Tsungping, Keang Keyun, whose proper station was Que-moy, but who, in consequence of the absence of Tow Chinpew, the naval Chinese commander-in-chief, had come from his own post to take the command, finding the day go against him, walked through one of the embrasures and drowned himself. His body was found the following day on the beach. Another high mandarin flying out of the fort, and being so closely pursued as to render his escape impossible, drew a small sword and dexterously cut his throat.

Yen-Pihtow, the governor of the Fokien and Chekeang province, was in Amoy; and if he had waited a little longer must have witnessed the capture of its defences. In a subsequent memorial to the emperor, he asks for three millions of taels for the

use of the province, and names four more officers as having fallen at Amoy; three as being wounded, with many soldiers slain; and of Keang Keyun he asserts, that he fell into the water and was drowned. A Chinese corporal, who was found with his arm badly fractured by a round shot, was taken on board one of the ships, where he bore the necessary operation with the most stoical indifference. While a prisoner, he readily answered questions, but appeared to take no interest in all he saw around him, though most of the things in our ships must have been perfectly new to him.

During the heat of the bombardment, a Siamese junk, with a white flag at her mast-head, stood into the harbour, apparently perfectly aware that she would not in any way be interfered with.

The city bore the same ill-built appearance so general throughout China. In it was the residence of the Hoppo, or commissioner of customs, with a temporary residence for the governor. A foundling-

hospital was also established at this place. The buildings of the public offices were the most extensive which had yet been seen in China; that of the sub-prefects, called Hachong, furnished quarters for the whole 55th regiment. The 18th regiment and staff were quartered in a labyrinth of buildings within the citadel, formerly the residence of the admiral of the station. There was also within the same place the residence of the vice-admiral of Formosa*.

Vast quantities of timber were found in the naval yard; and a cannon foundry was near the walls of the citadel. Bullion, to the amount of about 20,000 dollars, was secured; but the bulk of the sycee had been carried off. Immense magazines filled with all the munitions of war, were also stored up here; they were either removed or destroyed. The principal inhabitants had fled; and as no one remained with whom it was possible to treat, the destruction of the forts went rapidly on.

* A titular guardian, and duke of the empire.

In a pond, and close to the foundling hospital, were found many bodies of infants sewed up in matting. Some, therefore, drew an inference from this, that infanticide existed to a great extent about Amoy; but may it not be reasonable to suppose that this pond was only the cemetery of the hospital. There is no question but that infanticide does exist in China, and that the father possesses by the laws of the country an unlimited right over the life of his offspring. Should he think they will be happier in death than in life, he may take their lives without any fear of punishment from his earthly rulers. But I cannot think that infanticide is a crime of frequent occurrence in a country where parental and filial affections are so strongly inculcated.

Yen-Pihtow, in a memorial to the emperor, gives rather a different version of the capture of Amoy. He states, that on the morning of the 26th he sent off a messenger, Chin, a linguist, to ascertain what the barbarians wanted; that when

he got on board the barbarian vessel, Chin had an interview with three chiefs, falsely styling themselves high officers, who stated to him that unless their demands, made last year at Tientsin, were immediate granted they would attack Amoy. "Hearing this," he added, "how could I be otherwise than indignant with rage? I immediately led the celestial troops against them; attacked and sunk one steamer and five ships of war, killing of the rebellious barbarians an incalculable number. But most extraordinary was it, the more our troops killed, the more they appeared to be, therefore were we obliged to retreat, saving the seals of my office, the buildings of which had been set on fire by the rebels. More than one hundred villages are banded together, and ten thousand warriors are waiting but for the means (*i. e.*, money and arms) to rush on these barbarians and drive them into the sea."

On the 5th of September the force weighed, and made sail for Chusan, leaving her majesty's ships Druid, Pylades, Alge-

rine, and three transports, with five hundred troops to garrison Ko-long-soo, which completely commanded Amoy. In case of separation, the Buffalo's Nose was appointed as the first rendezvous.

After the fleet had cleared the Formosa channel, the wind shifted to the northward and eastward; and it was evident that the north-east monsoon had set in, and at times it blew with great violence, dispersing the squadron, many of which stood in, and anchored under the lee of the islands that extend along this whole coast. By these means the slowest or worst sailing ships succeeded in arriving at their destination.

The Nemesis on her passage, being in want of fuel, obtained a pilot from a fishing-boat, and entered the harbour of Sheipoo, the entrance of which was found extremely narrow, commanded by two forts; but the tide soon swept her by, nor did the forts fire. On nearing the town, off which upwards of a hundred junks were moored, a battery, situated at the

southern end of the place, opened a cannonade on the steamer, which was immediately returned, till the enemy were driven from their defences. Lieutenant Hall then landed and spiked four guns, two of which were very heavy brass ones.

This duty being finished, a search for fire-wood was immediately commenced, and about twenty-five tons collected. The boats were dispatched to burn three war-junks, one of which mounted fourteen guns. The Nemesis then steamed down to the fort at the entrance of the harbour, where a numerous body of troops were drawn up on the shore; but these gallant heroes, as soon as the steamer approaching discharged a round of grape, were seized with a general panic and fled. The fort was then destroyed and fourteen guns were spiked; the tents and military material burnt. It was subsequently ascertained, that the Chinese had five officers and one hundred men killed. The Nemesis escaped without loss.

On the Phlegethon's arrival at Keeto

point on the 15th of September, it was represented to Lieutenant Mc Cleverty by the master of the Lyra, that his first mate and a lascar had been seduced to a village, and there treacherously murdered by the Chinese. Lieutenant Mc Cleverty at once determined to attack the mandarin station; and for that purpose proceeded at daylight on the 16th, accompanied by Lieutenant R. B. Crawford, R.N., acting Lieutenant H. Ryeves, fifty British seamen, and eighty lascars. On arriving at the village, it proved to be the one in which Mr. Stead, late master of the transport Pestonjee Bomanjee, had been so cruelly seized a few months previously.

The station and village was therefore destroyed, and three prisoners were taken, from whom it was ascertained that about five hundred Chinese troops were quartered in a small town at some little distance, and that that was the spot at which the people of the Lyra had been killed. These troops were fully prepared and expected to be attacked.

At 11 A.M., Lieutenant Mc Cleverty assembled his small force, and proceeded to destroy this nest of murderers, the advance being led on by Lieutenant Crawford, as before stated. As they neared the station about noon, a smart fire of ginjals and matchlocks was opened on the party, but without effect; and as they rapidly closed on them the Chinese fled up the hills at the back of their position, leaving many dead behind them. The barracks and magazines were blown up, and the town set on fire, when the party returned to the Phlegethon without any loss.

By the 25th the force had all assembled off the second rendezvous, "Just in the way," but the weather was too unsettled to allow of the ships taking up an anchorage off Chin-hài and the Ta-hae river, for the purpose of attacking those places. The commanders-in-chief, therefore, proceeded in the Nemesis and Phlegethon to make a reconnoissance of the defences of Chusan. As the steamers rounded Tea Island, the

Chinese opened a fire on them from several batteries. The steamers, however, being only reconnoitering did not return it, but kept just out of range of a well directed fire. This the Chinese mistook "for their coward fears," and sent an express to Ning-po to announce that two devil-ships had come sneaking into, and prowling about, the harbour, but that the brave troops had driven them off.

By this reconnoissance it was ascertained that a most powerful battery, principally constructed of mud, had been erected in front of the sea bank of the valley before described. This work extended from within about a hundred yards of the Sappers' Point to nearly a mile beyond the Joss-house hill; it was embrasured for two hundred and sixty-seven guns, and about ninety-five pieces of cannon of different calibre were actually mounted. The Joss-house hill had also been strongly fortified, and forty-one pieces were mounted on the walls of Ting-hai.

In addition to these, a stone-fort had

been erected to the westward of the Sappers' Point, near Junk-pass, and facing "Spithead." It was embrasured for eight guns, but had none mounted. About twelve hundred yards above this, and on the heights extending from the Sappers' Point along the west side of the valley was a very strong entrenched camp, containing a large body of Chinese troops.

On the morning of the 28th, the Modeste, Columbine, and Nemesis, under the orders of Captain Eyres, were detached to "Spithead," to prevent the Chinese from occupying the eight-gun battery, or from strengthening their position.

These ships soon opened their fire upon the fort and camp; and after knocking them pretty well about, Captains Eyres and Clarke, accompanied by about fifty men, landed to reconnoitre the position, and to ascertain whether there were any guns in two partially finished works that would command the point at which it was intended the troops should land.

This party walked to the Sappers' Point,

from whence they had a full view of the long sea battery, and into which several muskets were discharged by the party; when the garrison commenced firing in all directions, and about six hundred troops shewed themselves on the heights above, but were kept in check by some well directed shells thrown from the steamer. After completing their observations, the party returned to their respective ships. In the evening the admiral and squadron arrived from "Just in the way." On the 29th, the Blonde, Modeste, and Jupiter, with the Queen and Sesostris steamers, took up a position on the south side of Macclesfield and Trumball Islands, for the purpose of covering the artillery, who, under Captain Knowles, assisted by Lieutenant Spencer, R.A., and Lieutenant Birdwood, Madras Engineers, were erecting a battery of one 68 and two 24-pound howitzers. The Wellesley was moored as close as possible to the intended point of landing under Sappers' Point. The Cruizer, Columbine and small steamers were placed within

200 yards of the beach, with their broadsides to keep the Chinese in check.

All the transports having arrived during the 30th, and the preparations for the attack being completed, the ships on the 1st of October opened their cannonade on the Chinese position, the troops landing at the same time in two columns. The first column, about fifteen hundred strong, were disembarked under the heights whereon the entrenched camp was situated, in which the Tartar and Chinese troops were drawn up about two thousand strong.

The general and 55th regiment were the first on shore; and since they were exposed to a most galling fire without any cover, the advance was at once sounded, and they instantly pushed up the hill, led by Major Fawcett. The Chinese came down to meet them, the hill apparently blazing with the fire of their matchlocks and ginjals. But they could not withstand the impetuosity of our troops; and as the gallant 55th closed within spear's length of them, they gave way and fled.

Thus the right of the enemy's position was turned. The 55th in this advance had one officer killed, and twenty men put *hors de combat.*

As the 18th landed, under Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, they advanced with two light guns to the right, and driving in several small parties of the enemy, entered the western end of the sea battery. The Chinese, who were retreating along the causeway, quickly rallied under their brave general Keo, and made a very respectable resistance; some of the most advanced of our force saving themselves only by discharging their pistols. Having overcome this obstacle, they advanced along the causeway, and the Royal Irish soon took possession of their old quarters on the Joss-house hill, which the fire from the ships and royal artillery had already made too hot for the Chinese.

The second column, consisting of the 49th, marines, and seamen, were landed as quickly as the boats could accomplish it, at the eastern end of the defences, and

were to have carried the sea battery, but their services were not required.

While this had been going forward in the suburbs, Captain Anstruther had got by great exertion two light guns in the heights commanding the city, under the fire of which the 55th and Madras rifles advanced on Ting-hai, when the scaling ladders being placed by Captain Pears, who was the first to mount them, the enemy retired from the walls. Two hours were sufficient for the whole of the operations; and the British colours, at 2 P.M., waved for a second time over the city walls.

Some of the Chinese officers displayed great gallantry. General Keo, the Chinese commander-in-chief, was killed in the long battery, and his staff stood by him nobly; they all fell with him, fighting hand to hand with our troops. The standard-bearer on the heights selected a most conspicuous spot, where he stood waving the colours, nothing daunted by the shells from the steamers, which were falling around him.

A shell from the Phlegethon eventually struck him down, when his place was quickly assumed by another only to share the same fate.

The Chinese force consisted of about 5,000 men, of whom very many fell, nine or ten mandarins being in the number. The loss of the British amounted to two killed, and twenty-eight wounded*. The Blonde had also one of her quarter-deck guns dismounted.

Great quantities of military stores were found in the arsenals; and it was very evident that the Chinese had no idea of being again so quickly kicked out of Chusan. Numerous guns were found in

* LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED ON THE 1st OCTOBER, 1841.

Her Majesty's 55th regiment, killed, Ensign Duall, and 1 private; wounded, 24 rank and file.

Her Majesty's brig Cruizer, wounded, 1 man severely, since dead; 1 man slightly.

Her Majesty's steamer Phlegethon, wounded, 1 man slightly.

Ensign Duall had just been promoted from sergeant-major, and this was the first day on which he performed the duties of a commissioned officer.

the batteries, thirty-six of which were new, of brass, and well cast. These were subsequently shipped on board the transports. The carriages of the guns were of the most inferior description, with the exception of four, which were mounted on traversing carriages, similar to those on board the steamers.

Things appeared, with the exception of the new works, to have remained much as they had been left last February. The sea battery was a most extraordinary work, considering that it had been completed in the short period that had elapsed since the evacuation in that month. The suburbs had evidently been appropriated as a barrack for the men who had been carrying on this labour.

On the following days troops were sent out to scour the islands in search of mandarins and soldiers; and the Columbine and Nemesis proceeded to Sing-kong-moon, or Chin-keang-mun, to endeavour to intercept any that might be trying to make their escape from that port to Ning-po; while

the Modeste and Phlegethon were dispatched to Singka-moon, or Shinkea-mun, for the same purpose ; but these trips were unsuccessful. Nor can it be matter of surprise that they were so, since both mandarins and soldiers generally assume the dress of the peasantry as soon as they are beaten : it is, therefore, next to impossible to distinguish them.

The inhabitants of Ting-hai quickly recognised their old friends, and appeared very happy at seeing them return. Before three days had elapsed a good market was established, and everything went on as quietly as if we had never abandoned the place.

Sir Henry Pottinger, in a circular addressed to her Britannic majesty's subjects in China, informed them, that "arrangements will be made immediately for establishing a provincial government; and her majesty's plenipotentiary deems it advisable, after what has already happened, to intimate to her majesty's subjects, and all others, that under no circumstances will Ting-hai and

its dependencies be restored to the Chinese government, until the whole of the demands of England are not only complied with, but carried into full effect."

I must add, as the earnest hope of an humble individual, who has been on the spot, and witnessed much of what has taken place, that *under no circumstances ought these fine islands to be again given up.* I have before endeavoured to show that the possession of them must be highly beneficial to us; and they are a second time ours by the universally acknowledged right of conquest.

Her majesty's plenipotentiary, at the same time that he published his address to her Britannic majesty's subjects in China, issued a proclamation to the natives*. All, or nearly the greater part of the inhabitants remained in the city. Supplies were ample, and every part of the island assumed a more favourable appearance than it had done during our last occupation. Subsequently good barracks were

* Vide Appendix N.

erected for the troops ; a military government of the island was formed, and four hundred men were left as a garrison, with three transports in the harbour.

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# CHAPTER VI.

## CAPTURE OF CHIN-HAI AND NING-PO.

Squadron proceeds to Chin-hai—Plan of Attack—Ships proceed—Assault of the Citadel—City captured—Troops landed—Good Dispositions of the General—Total Rout of the Chinese—General stops the Carnage—Suicide—Melancholy Effects of War—Brass Guns—Foundry—Advance on Ning-po—Troops march in—Admiral's Order—Phlegethon proceeds up the River—Captain Anstruther at his old Quarters—Proceedings at Canton—Ditto at Amoy—Expedition to Yuyaun, Tsekee, and Funghwa—Chinese attack Ning-po and Chin-hai—Their Defeat—Fate of Fire-rafts—Nemesis at Taishan—General Yu-poo-yun driven back—Battle of Tsekee—Sir Hugh Gough's Despatch—Attempt to burn the Ships at Ting-hai—Destruction of the Rafts—Kidnapping—Punch.

England conquers but to save,
And governs but to bless.

THE force destined to act against Chin-hai assembled, on the 8th of October, near "Just-in-the-way," and on the 9th, anchored off the Ta-hea River, preparatory

to the attack; the appearance of which is thus described in a circular issued by Sir Henry Pottinger:—

"The city of Chin-hai is situated at the mouth of the Ta-hea, or Ning-po River, and was covered so strongly by its citadel, (a fort built on a lofty headland jutting into the sea,) and a number of heavy batteries and outworks on each bank of the estuary, that the imperial commissioner, Yukeen, who had come specially to defend it, and other civil and military Chinese authorities appear, from their proclamations, to have flattered themselves, even after their past and recent experience of the power of the British arms, that the place could not be taken."

The following general order was now issued by Sir William Parker, which I here introduce, because it will put the reader in full possession of the plan of attack:—

"GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

"*Wellesley, at Anchorage off Just-in-the-way*
*October* 9, 1841.

"The following positions are to be taken

by the ships of the squadron, in the attack on Chin-hai, and for covering the landing of the troops on the right hand of the river. When the signal, No. 470, for anchoring with springs on the cables, is made, the Wellesley will place herself about due north of the citadel, or Joss-house hill, as close in as she can be carried, without risk of her taking the ground at low water; the Blenheim to the east of her; the Blonde to the southward and westward of the Wellesley; the Modeste to the southward and westward of the Blonde, as near to the Chinese positions as their respective drafts of water will admit of with safety to the ships, and taking care not to obstruct the fire of each other.

"The object of this division of the ships will be to drive the Chinese out of the citadel with hell and shot, if well within range of the latter; and to prevent reinforcements being sent up to it from the city of Chin-hai; also to open a landing-place, if practicable, for the seamen and marines at the foot of the hill on the west side, where

a battery has been constructed, and the landing-places staked to this point. For the purpose of driving the Chinese from the walls of the eastern part of the city, the fire of the Blonde and Modeste should be mainly directed.

"The seamen and marines must be held ready to assault the citadel, whenever the signal shall be made for disembarking them, which will probably be on the rocks on the north side of the hill, or at the point already referred to.

"The transports are to be anchored to the eastward of the Triangles,—the Cruizer, Columbine, and Bentinck, to take positions off the creek, inside those islands, for covering the landing of the troops. The Cruizer to be as far advanced to the westward and entrance of the harbour as may be practicable, without being exposed to the fire of the batteries in the harbour.

"The Sesostris to anchor off the north side of Passage Island, to shell the citadel and battery on the eastern end, and if

possible to flank the batteries on the right bank of the river.

"The Queen to place herself inside the Triangles, as far advanced as may be practicable for bursting shells in the encampment of the Chinese towards the fortified hill and to clear the south-east part of the citadel hill, should the Chinese be driven on that side by the fire of the ships to the northward; also to shell the batteries on the town side which defends the entrance of the harbour. The Phlegethon and Nemesis to proceed to support the Queen, on receiving directions to do so from Commanders Giffard or Clarke, as soon as all the troops are landed; and a strict look out is to be kept for the recall of either of the steamers, and to repeat any signal made by the ship to the northward.

"Wherever the surrender of the citadel, or the advance of the troops, causes the Chinese to give way from their batteries in the harbour, or that they can be approached with advantage, the Cruizer,

Columbine, and Bentinck, are to proceed inside, and Commander Giffard will take care always to have one vessel in a position to keep up the communication with the general.

"The foregoing outline will be sufficient to apprise the respective captains and officers of the contemplated operations; but the duration of the fire of the ships, and any alterations of their position, must of course be governed by their discretion to meet any change of circumstances.

"The following number of seamen and marines are to form the landing party, under the command of Captain Herbert of the Blenheim, and to take with them one day's provisions:—From the Wellesley and Blenheim a hundred and fifty each, from the Blonde fifty, and the Modeste twenty, making in all three hundred and seventy seamen, with a proper proportion of officers; marines the same as detailed in my memorandum of the 25th of September. The marines from the Cruizer and Columbine are to be sent this evening

to the Wellesley by one of the small steamers.

(Signed) "W. PARKER,
"*Rear-Admiral.*"

To the Captains and Commanding
Officers of the Ships and Vessels.

"GENERAL ORDERS.
"*Head-quarters, H. M. S. Wellesley, October* 9, 1841.

"Attack. 1. The following is the proposed order of the landing, for the attack of the citadel and fortified heights of Chin-hai. The troops, with the seamen's battalion and royal marines, to land in three columns.

LEFT COLUMN, with which Major-general Sir Hugh Gough will land.

| | Officers. | Rank & file. |
|---|---|---|
| Madras artillery and gun-lascars | 7 | 104 |
| Royal artillery . . . . | .. | 4 |
| Sappers . . . . . . . | 4 | 100 |
| Her Majesty's 55th regiment . | 18 | 417 |
| Her Majesty's 18th regiment . | 12 | 280 |
| Rifles . . . . . . | 4 | 110 |
| Total . . . | 46 | 1015 |

ORDNANCE—Four 4 2-5 mountain howitzers, and two $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch mortars; doolie bearers, and natives to carry shot, 112.

CENTRE COLUMN, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris.

| | Officers. | Rank & file. |
|---|---|---|
| Royal artillery . . . . | .. | 4 |
| Madras artillery . . . | 1 | 50 |
| Madras sappers . . . | 1 | 40 |
| Her Majesty's 49th regiment . | 23 | 346 |
| Total . | 25 | 440 |

ORDNANCE—Two 12-pounder howitzers, two 9-pdr. field-guns; doolie bearers and shot carriers, 40.

RIGHT COLUMN, under Captain Herbert, R.N.

| | Officers. | Rank & file. |
|---|---|---|
| Royal artillery . . . | 1 | 23 |
| Madras artillery . . . | 1 | 12 |
| Seamen's battalion . . . | 15 | 400 |
| Royal Marines . . . . | 8 | 276 |
| Madras sappers . . . | 1 | 30 |
| Total . . | 26 | 741 |

ORDNANCE—Two $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch mortars; doolie bearers, and natives to carry shot, 30.

"2. Officers commanding 18th, 49th, and 55th regiments will be pleased to send to head-quarters, as soon as may be practicable after landing, the men of their respective corps, whom they were re-

quested to select for the deputy provost-marshal's guard, in general order of the 6th instant.

"3. The European troops will land as heretofore in light marching order, and with one day's cooked provisions. The native troops will also carry one day's provisions.

"4. The landing will take place, if possible, at daylight to-morrow morning.

"By order,

(Signed) "ARMINE S. H. MOUNTAIN,

"*Lieut.-Colonel, D.A.G.*

At an early hour on the morning of the 10th of October, the ships got into their allotted stations; the Wellesley and Blenheim being towed in by the steamers, and the Blonde and Modeste taking up their positions under sail. The whole of these vessels settling in the mud, as the tide ebbed, became as steady as forts, and the fire from them was most tremendous, and is thus spoken of by the commander-in-chief: "The precision of the fire both of

shot and shell, far exceeded my most sanguine expectations; and the destruction of the works from the commencement of the attack was never doubtful."

By a quarter past eleven, the citadel on the Joss-house hill was breached, and the defences reduced to a ruinous state. The Chinese, who had stood well to their guns, now began to abandon them. The signal was immediately made for the right column to land; and before noon, in spite of the rocky nature of the shore, the force landed, and gallantly mounted the hill to the assault of the citadel. An explosion at this moment taking place near the gate, the last of the garrison fled without waiting to close it. Our men rushed in, and the union jack instantly floated over the walls. Scarcely had the men entered when a second explosion took place, but providentially without injury to any one.

Just previously to the abandonment of their works by the Chinese, a man was seen at the joss-house over the gateway waving a flag in defiance; and at the next

moment a shell from the Wellesley fell on it and exploded, burying the soldier under the ruins of the temple. Six bodies were afterwards found at this spot most horridly mutilated by the shell.

Captain Herbert now re-formed his men, and advanced to the attack of the city, on the walls of which the enemy were collected in considerable force. A few volleys quickly dislodged them from their position, and the column advanced steadily, and in good order, to the escalade. The wall was twenty-six feet high, and was escaladed in two places; while the enemy, instead of attempting to defend themselves, were flying out of the western gate. The city being very soon fully in our possession, Captain Herbert remained with the marines in charge of the town, and the seamen returned to their ships to move them into the offing, as soon as they floated with the rising tide.

While the men were escalading the walls, a heavy explosion took place at a small battery at the foot of the hill.

Fortunately only one man was killed by it (a drummer of marines). As the party advanced towards this fort, a Chinese had been seen on the outside of it, but being unarmed he was not fired at; but no sooner did he imagine our men well on the mine, than he lit the train, the consequences of which might have been much more fatal. He fell, immediately after this act, pierced by a dozen balls from the marines.

While the ships had been thus practically obeying the orders, the troops, about seventeen hundred strong, having been landed at an early hour, under cover of the Cruizer, Columbine, and Bentinck, had not been less actively employed.

The general had this day a good opportunity of displaying his skill in military tactics. Perceiving that the enemy had five thousand men in an extensive encampment on the southern bank of the river, while the city was on the northern, he determined to attack the former first. Having divided his small army into three columns, the right and left were dis-

patched towards the flanks of the enemy, which movement they were enabled to execute without being perceived by their opponents, under cover of a rising ground. The centre column advancing at the same time, the Chinese came boldly out to meet this apparently small body. The British troops advanced steadily until within good range, though the Chinese had for some time opened a fire of ginjals and match-locks directed solely against this column.

The order was given to fire, when, at the same moment, the flank-companies debouched, pouring in their volleys on the now bewildered Chinese. Being utterly confounded at what appeared to them a most wonderful increase of force, they gazed around in stupid and motionless amazement. A few of them only returned a feeble fire to the incessant peals which came from every quarter, and then as it were, in a sudden panic, moved, broke up, and flew in every direction, leaving the field thickly strewed with their dead and dying.

Our men followed close in the pursuit,

and many hand to hand encounters took place; but the long Chinese spear could make but little resistance against the British bayonet. Many of these men fought with desperation, apparently resolved to conquer or die. The residue fled by hundreds to the water, hoping by that means to hide themselves from the vengeance of the "red-haired race." The fire of the rifles was most deadly; the stream shortly became deeply tinged with their blood, when the general, accompanied by Mr. Thom, coming up, the latter bearing a flag with the following Chinese words inscribed on it, "Yield and be saved; resist and perish;" many of them took quarter, and the carnage ceased.

The men were then re-formed and advanced towards the city, but, on ascending the heights, the enemy were perceived pouring out of its gates at one end, as the sailors and marines entered at the other.

The Tartar general, who had used the late Mr. Stead in such a barbarous manner, and had assured the emperor that "he

would catch all the barbarians in a net, give their flesh to the wild beasts, and prepare their skins for the celestials to sleep upon," thought fit to cut his own throat, though a blow in the arm prevented him from doing it as expertly as is usual with his countrymen. Many other officers also committed suicide. On this day, so unhappy for the "black-haired race," fifteen hundred of whom at least must have perished, our loss amounted to sixteen killed and a few wounded, amongst whom was Lieutenant Montgomerie, of her majesty's 49th.

With such a tremendous bombardment as had been going on for two hours in this densely-peopled neighbourhood it must be expected that many pitiable sights were to be witnessed, and that vast numbers of the poor inhabitants suffered with the troops. At one spot were four children struck down by a shot, while the frantic father was occasionally embracing their bodies, or making attempts to drown himself in a neighbouring tank; from doing which he

was forcibly withheld by his friends. Numerous similar scenes were witnessed, —the unavoidable miseries of war.

In a battery upon the river, one of the carronades of the late armed transport Kite was found with an excellent imitation alongside of it. Indeed, the brass guns in this city were very well cast, of great thickness of metal, and smoothly bored. Some of the gun-carriages were superior to anything of the kind which had yet been seen in China. And the models of them, and sweeps that were found, show that the Chinese in the materials of war are conquering their antipathy to copy anything from other nations.

A very extensive foundry for cannon was at this place, and about two hundred tons of copper, which had been collected for the purpose of casting guns. The whole of this metal was shipped on board the transports, which, with the Blonde and small vessels, were removed into the river.

On the 13th, at 9 A.M., leaving a garrison at Chin-hai, the admiral, with his flag flying

in the Modeste, accompanied by the Columbine, Cruizer, and Bentinck, having on board the marines and a detachment of seamen from those ships, which were left in the outer roads, and the steamers Sesostris, Queen, Nemesis, and Phlegethon, with the troops on board, proceeded about fifteen miles up the river to the attack of the large-walled city of Ning-po. From unavoidable delays the force did not reach it until 1 P.M., when it was found abandoned by the Chinese troops, who, after their late disasters, had positively refused to fight, or face our men; in consequence of which the mandarins, both civil and military, fled.

The Nemesis and Phlegethon anchored close off a floating-bridge, which communicated between the eastern gate and the suburbs, on the opposite side of the river. The troops speedily marched to the shore along stages from the vessels' bows. The naval brigade under Captain Sir Thomas Herbert, landed at the same time in the suburbs on the city side of the river. The gates were found secured and barricaded,

but an entrance was soon effected, and the general marched into the city without firing a shot, the band of the 18th enlivening the hearts of the inhabitants, by playing "Garry Owen," and afterwards "God save the Queen," on the ramparts. Who, half-a-dozen years ago, would have ventured to speculate that Ning-po would be thus entered? The walls of the city were about five miles in circumference, and were immediately reconnoitred, and troops quartered for the night.

On the 14th, the Phlegethon proceeded about twenty-one miles up the river, having a sufficiency of water the whole way for the smaller ships. The country, through which the river ran, appeared one vast plain, intersected with canals, highly cultivated, and abounding with cattle in all directions; and, at every four or five miles along the banks of the river, there were considerable towns.

The city of Ning-po, the second of the province of Chekiang, as before observed, is five miles in circumference. It contains

a population of about six hundred thousand, the major portion of whom remained in the city, appearing desirous to come under British protection, and declaring publicly that their mandarins had deserted them, and that their own soldiers were unable to protect them. On a proclamation being issued, assuring them of protection, many shops were re-opened. No authorities could be found to treat for its ransom; it was therefore held by about one thousand bayonets.

In the city two years' supply of grain was found, and about one hundred and twenty thousand dollars in specie and sycee. Immense stacks of tchen or cash were piled up in the city, and must have amounted to many lacs in value.

Captain Anstruther took up his quarters in the mandarin's house where he had before suffered imprisonment, and it may be readily supposed, with highly different feelings from those which he experienced when he entered within the same doors in his cage. The cages and chains both of

himself and fellow-prisoners were still here; and the sketches with a kind of rough journal, which he scratched on his prison-walls, remained untouched. Captain Anstruther recognised one or two of his gaolers, and also the old woman, described as a horrid, squalid, ugly hag, under whose charge Mrs. Noble had been.

Supplies after the first day or two became plentiful, and the people appeared perfectly contented with their new rulers, every kind of excess or plunder being rigidly prohibited.

But, at the moment, from the mandarins having forsaken their posts, all government in the neighbouring districts, was upset, and large bands of robbers were formed by the lower orders of Chinese, who plundered in every direction.

By a reference to Wyld's Map, it will be seen that the Ning-po peninsula, and also that on which Shei-pow is situated, could be easily occupied and defended; and though but a small, a very small corner of the celestial empire, would to us be of

incalculable advantage, as it would shortly draw to it all, or nearly all, the tea and silk trade of the adjoining provinces.

On the 20th and 21st, Sir Henry Pottinger proceeded with the Nemesis and Phlegethon about forty miles up the river, to the city of Yuyaun. This place was also found deserted by the mandarins and soldiers. The river at this point shoaled to about four feet; and the further progress of the steamers was stopped by a stone bridge of six arches. The town was perfectly quiet; but when visited three days afterwards, it was found that the native robbers had entered it, and plundered the peaceable inhabitants.

The Chinese troops appeared, for the next two months, to remain tolerably quiet; in fact, they could not, without receiving large reinforcements, be induced to make a forward movement. The ships were dispersed along the coast, and various trips were made up the river by the steamers.

At Canton the authorities were busy in

repairing the forts in the inner waters, and in drilling and practising their artillery. Captain Nias had, in consequence of these breaches of the truce, blown up the works at North Wang-tong, and destroyed many boats that were collected for the purpose of filling up the river. Yet trade continued to go on, and from fifteen to twenty merchant-ships were generally at Whampoa. A new commissioner had arrived, Tih-es-hun-poo, a Mantchow. It was said the object of his visit was to find out what really had happened in the Canton River, Yishan's memorials not being believed at court. The duties on commerce had been greatly increased, on tea alone to six millions of dollars, within the last twelve months.

At Amoy all remained* in repose, and the inhabitants appeared quiet and happy under their new rulers. Lew Yunko, who had threatened to come down and annihilate Captain Smith and his forces, aban-

* The officers at Ko-long-soo levelled a race-course, and, with the Chinese ponies, relieved the *tedium vitæ*.

doned his project, for reasons shown in a document forwarded by him to Pekin*.

Our old friend the Madagascar steamer was burnt, on the 19th of September, 1841, on her voyage from Hong Kong to Chusan. After enduring great suffering, some few of her crew succeeded, by the mercy of Providence, in reaching the shore, about fifty miles to the southward of Amoy, from whence they were ultimately conveyed to Canton, and being represented as Americans were at length released. Out of ninety-nine that were on board, fifty-seven poor fellows met a watery grave.

The Chinese having thrown garrisons into Yuyaun, Tsekee, and Funghwa, distant respectively forty, twenty, and thirty miles from Ning-po, for the purpose of intimidating the inhabitants of that place, and to stop the supplies of the British, it was resolved by the commanders-in-chief to dislodge these forces. The Sesostris, Nemesis, and Phlegethon, therefore, on the 27th of December, with a number of boats

* Vide Appendix O.

in tow, and seven hundred men of all arms, proceeded up the river, the Sesostris, from her great draft of water, being obliged to anchor about fourteen miles above Ning-po, near which place a party of the enemy were busily driving piles to obstruct the passage, a few shot from the Nemesis dispersed them. The two iron steamers anchored off Yuyaun late in the afternoon.

Sir Hugh Gough immediately landed with the military division, and took undisputed possession of a hill, on which stood a small fort and extensive joss-houses. Sir William landed the next morning, when, on preparations being made for storming the town, the inhabitants came out and stated, that the garrison, said to consist of 2400 men, regulars and militia, had evacuated the town in the night. The troops, therefore, marched in; the divisions separating to march round the rampart. When the naval brigade had advanced a little way, a fire of ginjals, &c. was opened upon them from some Chinese troops outside the town, but who fled as her ma-

jesty's troops found egress through the northern gate. They were hotly pursued for about seven miles, and about one hundred of their numbers fell. Their loss would have been much more severe, but for their local knowledge, the whole country being knee-deep with frozen snow, rendering it impossible for our troops to distinguish the paths.

On the 29th, the city was examined, and large granaries of corn were thrown open to the public. On the 30th, the force descended the river to the spot where the Sesostris was at anchor, when the whole force anchored within about four or five miles of Tsekee, which on the following morning was found with the gates open and to be deserted by the Chinese troops and civil authorities. The granaries were again thrown open, and all the public buildings destroyed. The whole of this duty was performed, with but one casualty, Mr. Lock, midshipman of the Blonde, being struck by a spent ball. The cold was intense; through the whole period

the thermometer ranging 10 and 13 degrees below the freezing point. The forces were re-embarked, and returned to Ning-po on the evening of the 31st.

The unsettled state of the weather prevented the movement on Funghwa, until the 10th of January, when early in the morning of that day, the Phlegethon and Nemesis started from Ning-po, but at noon were brought up by a stone bridge that crossed the river. Sir H. Gough, with his division, landed at this point; Sir H. Parker proceeding in the boats some miles higher up; and about dusk the two divisions met at the city of Funghwa, which was found deserted, as Tsekee had been. The same steps were therefore adopted, the whole force re-embarking on the afternoon of the 11th, and anchored at Ning-po on the 12th. Several ships with troops arrived from England and India during the winter months; and high spirits and good health prevailed throughout the force.

On the 18th of February, the launch of

the Ernaud transport, while on shore watering, was left aground by the falling of the tide. The officer in charge of her imprudently allowed himself to be persuaded by three Chinese to accompany them to some houses a short way off. He was attended by two lascars; but had not advanced very far, before he was attacked by about forty or fifty Chinamen; after a most desperate resistance he was overcome. The next morning his headless trunk was found in a pond, with about thirty wounds, many of which must have been inflicted from sheer barbarity. The wrists and knee joints were cut into, and incisions made between each finger up to the wrist. One of the lascars escaped, and the other appeared to have been carried off as a prisoner.

Rumours had prevailed through the month of February, that the Chinese contemplated a movement with a force which they were collecting at Hanchow, and that they intended to make a simultaneous attack on Ning-po and Chin-hai; but it had been so repeatedly postponed by them

on the most frivolous pretences, that the naval and military commanders-in-chief proceeded to Chusan for the purpose of making arrangements respecting future operations with part of the force.

The night of the 10th of March, 1842, proved to be "the fortunate day" which was fixed upon by the Chinese for their simultaneous attack upon us; the signal for it was the ignition of some fire-rafts to be sent against the ships.

At Ningpo about ten or twelve thousand men advanced upon the south and western gates the guards retiring before them. On the Chinese penetrating to the market-place, in the centre of the city, they were received by a heavy fire from our troops there drawn up. This sudden check so damped the ardour of the assailants, that their only object now appeared to be to get out of the city again as fast as they could, in doing which they were crowded in dense masses in the narrow streets. The artillery, drawn by ponies, now coming up, unlimbered within less than one hundred yards

of the crowded fugitives, and poured in a destructive fire of grape and canister. So awful was the destruction of human life, that the bodies were obliged to be removed to the sides of the streets to allow the guns to advance, when the pursuit was followed up by them and the 49th, for some miles.

Many of these troops, having been brought from the interior and mountainous parts of this immense empire, had never before seen a European. Their dead bodies, which laid thickly strewn around, showed them to be a fine, powerful race of men, averaging about five feet ten inches in height. They had, it was said, resolved to conquer or perish. Their caps had a peculiarly extraordinary appearance, being formed of the skin of a tiger's face, with the animal's tail attached to it, hanging down their backs. From five to six dollars were found on the respective bodies of those who fell; it was therefore very reasonably supposed that the money had been distributed amongst them, to induce them to make the attempt.

The attack at Chin-hai was comparatively feeble, and was easily repulsed by the guard at the north gate, who drove the assailants back, when they were pursued by three companies of the 55th regiment. At this point about thirty of the Chinese fell, among whom were two mandarins.

The fire-rafts at Chin-hai and Ning-po were towed on shore, without causing any injury to the ships. Commander Morshed*, of the Columbine, with the boats of that vessel, and the Queen steamer, in the course of the day destroyed numerous fire-junks and boats, which had assembled in the north-western branch of the river.

The Nemesis, with Commander Collinson, was sent to reconnoitre the Island of Taisam, it having been reported that troops were collecting there, for the purpose of attacking the small body of men at Ting-hai. The steamer's boats, on entering a

* Commander Clarke had been promoted for his services in the Canton River; Lieutenant Morshed, of the Hyacinth, having been advanced to the rank of commander, was therefore appointed to the Columbine.

creek, were fired upon by several junks and forts. Commander Collinson and Lieutenant Hall immediately landed with the steamer's crew, and routed the Chinese, of whom about thirty fell, after which they set fire to the junks. This service was accomplished without any loss on our side.

Immediately after the attack that had taken place at Ning-po and Chin-hai became known, the commanders-in-chief hastened back to those places; it being resolved to bring the Chinese (if possible) to action, before they fell back on Pickwan, a place about forty miles from Ning-po.

Sir Hugh Gough having learnt that the General Yu-poo-yun was advancing from Funghwa, with between six and seven thousand men, moved out on the 13th of March, with six hundred* men to meet him. The Sesostris having on board three companies of the 26th, and a small body

* Detachments of Her Majesty's 18th and 49th regiments, Madras artillery, and two guns with 50 sappers.

of seamen and marines proceeded up the river parallel with and flanking the line of march.

On arriving at the village of Lisot, about seven miles from Ning-po, it was found that the enemy had, on the previous night, retreated over the hills, apparently with the intention of retiring on Shan Hing.

Sir William Parker having now joined, with the steamers Nemesis and Phlegethon, with a strong detachment of marines and seamen on board, it was decided at once to advance and attack the enemy's position at Tsekee, where it was understood that they were assembled in great force, under Generals Twan Yang, Yang, and Choo. It was also reported, that half a mile north of Tsekee, on the Segaon hills, a very powerful body of more Chinese troops were collected, in two intrenched camps, and that on the walls of the city several guns and ginjals had been placed. Large commissariat stores were laid up in Tsekee; and seven miles north-east of it was another encampment on the hills at

Chunkie-pass, where General Wun, with six thousand men and the military chest, was strongly intrenched.

At 8 o'clock on the 15th March, all the necessary arrangements being complete, the forces* were embarked on board the steamers Queen, Nemesis, and Phlegethon, and shortly after noon were landed within four miles of Tsekee, from whence a perfect view of the enemy's encampment was obtained.

The Phlegethon was now dispatched up the river with the armed launches of the Cornwallis and Blonde, to intercept the retreat of the Chinese, and the troops pushed forward to the city.

* This force consisted of,—

| | |
|---|---|
| 18th Royal Irish . . . . | 201 |
| 26th Cameronians . . . . | 156 |
| 49th regiment . . . . | 305 |
| 36th Madras native infantry, rifles | 54 |
| Madras artillery . . . . | 83 |
| Madras sappers . . . . | 54 |
| Marines and seamen . . . | 350 |
| Total . . . | 1,203 |

Ordnance—four 8-pounder guns.

About 3, the force reached the suburb on the south side of the city, and occupied a hill that commanded the gate. The Chinese fired all the guns they had on this side of the city, but with so little effect, and while the troops were at so great a distance, that it became at once apparent to the general, that they were only "saving the emperor's face," and that most unaccountably they did not purpose to defend the city. At the same time they were in great numbers strongly posted in fortified encampments on the two high hills of Segaon.

The naval brigade was now ordered forward to escalade the walls, while the general, at the head of the 49th, proceeded to the south gate to blow it open, and rejoin the naval brigade; but finding the bridge broken down, they proceeded round the canal, and under the city walls. The 18th were to dislodge a body of the enemy which occupied a hill to the north-east of the city, while the 26th were kept in reserve, moving with and protecting the

guns. The whole of these operations being executed, the force assembled at the north gate.

The rest of the proceedings of these gallant fellows I cannot give in better words than those of Sir Hugh Gough's despatch:—

"The city of Tsekee is surrounded on three sides with precipitous hills, and the north gate is on a low spur of one of these hills, which terminates in an eminence with the walls. At the north-western extremity of a range of hills, being a branch of the mountains that skirt the coast, are the Segaon or Siguen hills, on which were the encampments, both of which were of considerable extent, and the natural difficulties of the position strengthened by abattis. These camps which, as well as the summits of the hills beyond them, were thickly occupied, were within long range of the walls, the intervening space being a tract of paddy-fields, with a few scattered houses. I at once perceived that the position was faulty, as the hills

on our right commanded their left, while their left commanded their right, and I made my dispositions accordingly. The 18th, with a rifle company of the 36th Madras native infantry, were ordered to move up a ravine, and occupy a hill to the left of the position. The naval brigade was instructed to move under the walls, and occupy two rather large buildings in front of the right encampment, making a lodgment under cover ready to rush forward, when the 18th should reach the summit, and turn the enemy's left. With the 49th, I proposed to attack at the same moment the largest encampment in my front, my great object being to make a simultaneous attack with the three columns, pushing the 18th down in the rear, while the naval brigade should cut off all communication with the city. So rapid were our movements that only one gun could be brought up, notwithstanding the praiseworthy exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomerie, who dashed his gun into the canal, and entered the city by a

water-gate. This gun was ably brought up and did good execution, under the direction of Captain Moore, of the Madras artillery, who, with his party, merits great praise for the extraordinary exertions in dragging it through the paddy-fields and across the canals.

"The steepness of the mountain-gorge by which the Royal Irish and rifles ascended, notwithstanding the enthusiasm of their advance, occupied more time in surmounting than I anticipated; and, finding that the naval brigade might probably suffer more by the delay than in an immediate attack, and that the enemy appeared to gain confidence by this delay, I ordered the advance to be sounded, when the 49th, with their accustomed spirit, rushed up the hill, overcoming all opposition, and crowned its heights within a few minutes, driving everything before them.

"From this height, it afforded me no small satisfaction to witness the spirited rush of the advance of the marine brigade,

led by their gallant chief, (I am persuaded Sir William Parker will excuse this expression of my admiration,) who was ably supported by Captain Bourchier, commanding the naval brigade, Captain Richards, of her majesty's ship Cornwallis, and Commander Watson, of her majesty's ship Modeste, commanding the seamen's battalion. The whole brigade soon reached the summit, carrying the enemy's works. At the moment when the admiral had nearly gained the height, I perceived a large body of Chinese ascending the back of the hill which he was attacking, apparently ignorant of the conjoint attack; and I directed Major Gough, D.Q.M.G., to push forward with the grenadiers of the 49th, supported by a battalion company to cut off their retreat. The carnage at the foot of this hill was extraordinarily great. The 49th in the rear, and the naval brigade in the front, almost annihilated this body, while the remainder of the 49th pressed the retiring enemy,—I cannot say his columns,

as the whole plain was covered with the dispersed and flying foe.

"The 18th and rifles, finding that they were too late to participate in the attack on the encampments, rapidly dashed into the plain, and cut off the Chinese from their only safe retreat on the Chunkie-pass, killing numbers; and one company, under Lieutenant Bernard, followed up the pursuit for several miles towards Yuyaun. The 26th Cameronians having left one company to protect the guns, pressed forward into the plain and joined in the pursuit. It was 8 o'clock before the force reassembled, when we occupied the enemy's encampment, where the men found ample bedding and comforts.

"Sir William Parker has brought to my notice, in addition to the captains of the navy I have already named, the spirited conduct of Lieutenant C. E. Tennent, (flag lieutenant,) Lieutenant G. Elliot, (slightly wounded,) Mr. G. H. Hodgson, mate, (slightly wounded in a personal rencontre with a Chinese,) Mr. W. Bow-

den, volunteer 1st class; and Mr. D. C. Cunningham, secretary's clerk, all of her majesty's ship Cornwallis; also of Lieutenant Harriott, R.M., of her majesty's ship Blonde. The admiral also noticed (and it came under my own observation) the judicious and well directed rocket-fire of a party under Lieutenant J. Fitzjames and Mr. C. K. Jackson, mate, both of her majesty's ship Cornwallis. These officers accompanied Sir W. Parker with the advance. Lieutenant A. J. B. Hambly, of the royal marines, was severely wounded at the head of his company in the advance to the hill.

"I cannot too strongly express my entire approbation of the enthusiastic manner in which the whole force maintained their character. Our loss, under Divine providence, was wonderfully small; but the enemy's troops stood well, and retained the hills, until, in many instances, our officers and men came into personal contact with them.

"The conduct of the 49th came more

under my personal observation, and I witnessed, with great satisfaction, the zealous exertions of Captain Reignold (wounded); Lieutenant and Adjutant Browne; Lieutenants Ramsay and Mitchell, of the Grenadier company; Lieutenant Lane (whose left arm was amputated on the field), and Lieutenant Montgomerie (severely wounded in the thigh). I must also mention, with much approbation, the conduct of Brevet Captain Balfour, of the Madras artillery. I almost feel it invidious to name these officers, when I am conscious that every individual zealously did his duty; but as their conduct came under my own eye, I consider it a duty to express my sense of approval.

"The exact strength of the enemy I can hardly estimate, as various accounts give it at from seven to ten thousand: I conceive it to have been about eight thousand. These were the *élite* of the Chinese army, including 500 of the imperial body-guard, remarkably fine men; the Kansush troops, from the frontiers of Turkistan, a strong

and muscular race, accustomed to border warfare, and reputed by the Chinese invincible; and the Shause troops, for whose arrival Yih King gave out that he had delayed his attack. Their loss must have been very great: not less than one thousand were killed upon the field or in the pursuit, and drowned in the canals; a great proportion of mandarins fell. These troops not having before met the English, apprehended, I presume, that we should give no quarter; and although the officers and men showed great forbearance, calling to the Chinese to surrender, very few prisoners were taken. We have, however, three mandarins, two from Kansush, and one a lieutenant of the imperial body-guard.

"Fatigue parties from the several corps, together with the available native followers, were occupied in collecting guns, ginjals, and matchlocks left in camp, or thrown away during the flight, until twelve o'clock on the 16th, when I set fire to the encampments, and to the several houses that the Chinese had occupied as arsenals. At

daylight in the morning, I had sent into the town to open the grain magazines to the populace, which eagerly flocked to them; and upon visiting them next morning, I found they had been completely emptied. From these and other causes, I could not commence my march before half-past twelve o'clock, when the column moved for the Chunkie-pass, which I determined to carry, in order to destroy this, as I understood, formidable position, and capture the treasure-chest.

"After a rapid march of three hours we reached the base of the hill under this pass. The position appeared remarkably strong,—indeed almost impracticable from the front, as the hills are lofty and exceedingly steep, and the summits of the ridges were intrenched strongly. But here again, as at Segaon, I perceived that the position could be turned; and I at once directed the royal Irish to ascend the hill on the left of the position, while I moved with the 26th Cameronians, and 49th, supported by the naval brigade, and occupied a wooden

spur, which led up direct to the left of the encampment.

"On reaching the summit of this spur, I found that the enemy had retreated, taking with him his guns, and, I regret to say, his treasure; but a considerable quantity of good bread was discovered, also some ammunition. We halted for a couple of hours, and as there was not sufficient cover for all the troops, the works were set fire to, together with the magazine and a large joss-house where the mandarins resided. The column returned to Tsekee, which we did not reach until 9 o'clock that night. All the villages in the neighbourhood of our route were apparently deserted by the inhabitants; but I am happy to say, in no one instance was a house entered on our line of march, along which no trace was left betokening a movement of troops through a hostile country. Indeed, with the exception of a very few killed in houses, where the Chinese troops sought refuge the preceding day, I did not see amid the slain one individual who was not habited as a

soldier; which, as the peasantry were in many instances intermingled with the fugitives, goes far to show the forbearance and discrimination of our men even in the heat of pursuit.

"On the 17th, I returned with the whole force to Ning-po, with the exception of two companies of the 26th, which I sent under Captain Strange, accompanied by Captain Pears, direct to Chin-hai, with a view to ascertain the fact of a canal communication between that place and Tsekee, and to clear the country of any straggling parties of the enemy. This duty was satisfactorily performed, and the detachment rejoined me here on the 18th.

"Permit me now to bring to your lordship's favourable notice the several officers commanding corps, who were most zealous in executing, and even in anticipating, my wishes, viz.: Captain Bourchier, commanding the naval brigade; Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, commanding the 49th regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt, commanding the 26th regiment; Major Tomlinson, com-

manding the 18th regiment; Commander Watson, R.N., commanding the seamen; Captain Uniacke, commanding the royal marines; and Captain Simpson, commanding the rifles, 36th Madras native infantry.

"From Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomerie, commanding the artillery, and Captain Pears, commanding engineers, I received the most zealous support.

"I am greatly indebted to Lieutenant-Colonel Mountain, D.A.G., and Major Gough, D.Q.M.G., for their valuable assistance; and I feel much obliged to Lieutenant-Colonel Hawkins, D.C.G., and Major Moore, D.J.A.G., who accompanied me, and acted as my personal staff. Captain Whittingham, my aide-de-camp, having been sent to convey my wishes to Sir W. Parker, ascended the hill with his excellency, who speaks most favourably of his exertions.

"I cannot too strongly convey my approbation of the zealous exertions of Dr. French, the superintending surgeon.

"I send this despatch by Lieutenant

Montgomerie, 49th, who, I am sorry to say, will not, from his wound, be fit for service for a considerable time. He is a most gallant officer.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "HUGH GOUGH, *Lieut.-Gen.*,

"*Commanding Expeditionary Land Force.*

"*Head-Quarters, Ning-po, March* 19, 1842*."

This large army had for some months been concentrating from the most remote

* Casualties during the foregoing operations:—

Her Majesty's 49th regiment, wounded, Captain T. S. Reignolds, severely; Lieutenant J. M. Montgomerie, severely; Lieutenant F. W. Lane, dangerously, left arm amputated on the field; four rank and file.

Her Majesty's Ship Cornwallis, killed, one serjeant of Royal Marines: wounded, First Lieutenant A. Hambly, Royal Marines, severely; Mr. G. H. Hodgson, mate, slightly; Mr. Charles K. Jackson, mate, slightly; one seaman, dangerously; six privates Royal Marines, severely.

Blonde, killed, one seaman, one private Royal Marines; wounded, one private Royal Marines, severely.

Hyacinth, wounded, one private Royal Marines, severely.

Modeste, wounded, one private Royal Marines.

Columbine, wounded, one private Royal Marines.

Total killed, 3; wounded, 22.

points of this vast empire. It was fully expected by the Chinese that it would have annihilated our small force: indeed, the inhabitants of the town confessed they thought that Ning-po and Chin-hai would have been taken, our troops and themselves massacred, and the place plundered.

On the 14th of April, at 10 P.M., information was communicated from Captain Dennis, the military magistrate at Sing-kong-moon, that he had ascertained by means of his scouts, that a number of fire-rafts were supposed to be on their way to attack the shipping in Chusan. About 11 P.M., several fire-rafts in flames were discovered on the eastern side of the harbour, and driving towards the vessels; while others were approaching through the passage, between Macclesfield and Turnbull Island, towards the spot where the Nemesis had for some days been undergoing repairs.

The boats of the men-of-war were quickly on the alert, and soon succeeded in towing these formidable assailants, between fifty and sixty in number, clear of the ship-

ping. Each of these consisted of from three to five junks, securely chained together.

During the time this was taking place in the harbour, Lieutenant Wise, of the Cornwallis, was dispatched with a small division of boats in search of those fire-rafts, of which Captain Dennis had given information. On proceeding out of the western passage, he found thirty fire-vessels off a small beach, outside of Bell Island, where they were waiting the change of tide, to enter the harbour; they were of course immediately attacked, and destroyed.

The iron steamers were dispatched on the following morning, to scour the neighbouring island, when the Nemesis destroyed thirteen more, making, with those destroyed on the previous night, above a hundred.

During the latter part of our occupation of Ning-po, a system of kidnapping our troops had made much head, as many as forty-two individuals were carried off; and several of them most barbarously murdered

and mutilated, others were kept as prisoners at Hong-Chow-foo, and their release was the means that Elepoo made use of to try and work upon the feelings of the commander-in-chief after the capture of Chapoo.

To show what adepts these kidnappers were in their trade may be mentioned the case of a marine of the Modeste. This man was in the habit of grooming a pony belonging to his captain, kept in an uninhabited house, within a biscuit's cast of the ship, and from which he was spirited away at noon-day. A few days previous to this, the body of a private of the 55th, floating in the river, was picked up by one of the Modeste's boats, with the head and right arm cut off. One more case may be mentioned of the many. A Chinese boat passing through the west water-gate of Ningpo, came in contact with the pier, by which part of the sliding pannels of her side was knocked in, and by that providential means was discovered to the astonished sentry an Englishman bound and gagged. The boatman attempted to escape, but was fortu-

nately seized; and through his information several parties were taken who had been engaged in this nefarious trade. One active fellow had actually carried off fifteen persons, for which service he was rewarded with a white button. The authorities, at the same time, were enabled to seize a blue-buttoned mandarin and twenty-four soldiers, who were supposed to have strangled a private of the 49th, after having decoyed him from the lines by the means of a second Delilah. The nearest tree would be too good a gibbet for such base miscreants. Latterly it became unsafe to wander alone through the city, though on its first occupation no fear of the sort was felt. At all times there was a most excellent and abundant market at Ning-po. It is pretty generally allowed that Europe is indebted to the Chinese for the knowledge of the magnet, the art of printing, and the composition of gunpowder; but the occupation of Ning-po has proved that we are indebted to the "Central Flowery Land" for one of our infantine amusements—an

amusement that I can still enter into with all the zest of boyhood—namely, Punch or Polichinello, which was to be seen in the streets of this city, the *véritable* gentleman, the same box, the same voice, the same scenes, in short, the Polichinelle to which our Gallic neighbours lay claim.

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# CHAPTER VII.

## CAPTURE OF CHAPOO AND TCHANG-KIANG.—PEACE.

Evacuation of Ning-po—Chapoo—Mantchow privilege—Japanese trade—Heights of Chapoo—Operations on shore—Tartars in Joss-house—Death of Lieut.-Col. Tomlinson—City carried—Killed and wounded—Imperial Court shows symptoms of yielding—Force proceeds to the Yang-tse-Kiang—Channel buoyed—Ariadne on a rock—River Woosung, its defences—Attack of the Batteries—Arrival of the North Star—Shang-hae, its capture—Ordnance captured—Curious Inscription—Reinforcement join—Proceed up the Yang-tse-Kiang—Strength of Current—Tchang-Kiang—Dispatch force—Four Officers swim across the Canal—Western Gate carried—Second Brigade—Lieutenant Cuddy—Great heat—Lieutenant Crouch wounded—Horrible sight—Mandarin burns himself—Comparative losses—Cholera breaks out—Proceed to Nankin—Chinese sue for terms—Description of the City—Its Manufactories—Terms of Peace—Anecdote.

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Soon as her fleets appear their boastings cease,
And all the Eastern world lies hush'd in peace.

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All things must have an end: so had our occupation of Ning-po; for early in

May it was decided to evacuate that city and proceed with the expedition up the Yang-tse-kiang, leaving merely a detachment of two hundred men on the Pagoda Hill at Chin-hai, which is the remarkably strong position before described as commanding the entrance of the Ta-hea river, the summit of which is gained by three hundred and sixty-nine steps.

All arrangements being completed, the general assembled the head merchants, and gave the safe custody of the city into their hands, until they should be superseded by the arrival of the mandarins.

The steamers being placed alongside the banks of the river, with planks leading to the shore, the troops, with their bands playing our national airs, marched down, and filed off to their respective vessels, leaving, it is to be hoped, on the minds of the inhabitants of the Chekiang province a conviction of the orderly and forbearing conduct of the English, during an occupation of nearly seven months, which had been devoted to protect-

ing the peaceable Chinese population by every means in their power.

The force had already assembled at the anchorage off Just-in-the-way; but owing to unavoidable delays, it was the 13th before the fleet could quit that spot for the first point of attack, viz., the city of Chapoo, the emporium of the imperial Japanese trade.

This city is situated on the north side of the bay of Hong-tchow, into which the Tchen-tang-kiang discharges itself. It is about fifty or sixty miles N.W. from Chinhai. The city is of moderate size, with an extensive suburb. Chapoo itself is nearly surrounded by a deep moat or canal, within which a high wall encircles the whole city, a transverse wall severing from the rest of the town a quarter part, which is occupied by Tartars alone. Before the destruction caused by the storming of the place, the regularity of the buildings threw upon it the aspect of an Indian cantonment, though the houses themselves were of a superior quality. In each of these were found the arms of their

late occupants; this right of keeping their own weapons being a Mantchow privilege, while the Chinese not on actual service have theirs collected into arsenals. Every male adult in this quarter of the city was a soldier.

Chapoo owes much of its importance to the Japanese trade, in which six imperial junks are employed, making five voyages each to the Japan Islands in three years. The scenery of the surrounding country is described as exceedingly interesting.

Owing to the strong tides and currents in this bay, it was the evening of the 17th before the force was enabled to anchor near the point of attack. A reconnoissance had been made the preceding day by the commander-in-chief, in the two iron steamers, and although they approached very near, they were not fired at by the enemy. The heights that commanded the city were found to extend for three or four miles to the eastward: they were strengthened by several breastworks in their gorges and along their sides, while the summits were crowned by loop-holed joss-houses.

On the extreme right of these heights, and commanding the anchorage, were two batteries of rather a formidable appearance; but which, it was subsequently found, contained only eight guns. The whole of these works were crowded with soldiers, in all about 10,000, one-third of which were Tartars.

The 18th being decided on as the day of attack, the troops* were embarked in the

* Right Column under Lieut.-Colonel Morris.

| | Officers. | Men. |
|---|---|---|
| 18th Royal Irish . . . . | 22 | 470 |
| 49th regiment . . . . | 25 | 426 |
| Sappers . . . . . . | 1 | 25 |
| Total . | 48 | 921 |

Centre Column under Lieut.-Colonel Montgomerie.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Royal artillery . . . . | 2 | 25 |
| Madras artillery . . . . | 8 | 164 |
| Sappers . . . . . . | 2 | 74 |
| 36th Madras native infantry, rifles | 3 | 100 |
| Total . | 15 | 363 |

Left Column under Colonel Schoedde.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 26th Cameronians . . . . | 27 | 521 |
| 55th regiment . . . . | 15 | 274 |
| Sappers . . . . . . | 1 | 25 |
| Total . | 43 | 820 |

Ordnance, the whole light-field train.

steamers, to be landed on a fine sandy beach to the eastward, and thus turn the enemy's left; while the Cornwallis, Blonde, Modeste, and Sesostris steamer were to attack the forts, Commanders Kellet and Collinson having the previous night sounded between the anchorage and the shore. The troops having landed under cover of the Starling, Columbine, Bentinck, and Algerine, the guns of the ships opened their fire, but it was quickly ascertained that the battery was evacuated, for not a shot was fired in return. The right column, with the gallant Sir Hugh at their head, were the first on shore, and occupied a commanding height without opposition. The left and centre columns were then directed to move as rapidly as possible round the base of the heights, so as to cut off the communication with the city. By this well-executed manœuvre the enemy were obliged to move along the hills, as they fled before the advancing right column, who carried every successive defence.

The rout of the Chinese soon became total, the fugitives throwing away their arms,

and flying like a flock of sheep before their pursuers. Up to this point the loss on our side had been very trivial; but here three hundred Tartars, finding their retreat cut off by the 26th regiment, threw themselves into a loop-holed joss-house in one of the defiles, and defended themselves a considerable time with the most determined bravery. The artillery had no effect in dislodging them. This check to the whole force by a handful of men, could not be borne, and several runs were made at the door, to burst it in and get amongst them, but without effect. The gallant Colonel Tomlinson, of the 18th, was shot through the neck in leading one of these assaults, and several other officers and men fell at this spot. Ultimately, the place was fired by rockets, and breached by bags of powder, placed under the superintendence of Captain Pears, when about fifty of the defendants were taken prisoners, but nearly all of them wounded.

The troops now passed on to the walls. The bridge leading to the east gate had been destroyed by the enemy; but Lieute-

nant Gordon, of the sappers, soon found a *sanpan;* in this he crossed the canal, and secured two larger boats, in which the grenadiers of the 55th, with the sappers, were conveyed across. They instantly mounted the walls, and carried the place, when the naval brigade, under Sir. W. Parker, joined the force. The gates having been occupied, a body of the enemy were perceived in full retreat for Hong-chou, when Major Fawcett, with the 55th, was ordered to pursue them. They had, however, too great a start to admit of the gallant major coming up with any but the stragglers, though the greater part of the body were so alarmed as to throw away their arms, and break up in every direction.

Our losses in this day were unusually great, nine killed and fifty-one wounded*; but the Chinese must have suffered severely:

* Staff Lieut.-Colonel A. S. H. Mountain, severely wounded.

18th Royal Irish, Lieut.-Colonel N. R. Tomlinson, one sergeant, three rank and file killed; Lieut. A. E. Jodrell and A. Murray, slightly, one sergeant, one drummer, twenty-seven rank and file wounded.

from twelve to fifteen hundred were buried by ourselves. Powder mills and a cannon foundry were destroyed, with arms and ammunition of every description; among which were five hundred ginjals and eleven brass guns; the latter were embarked on board the ships. The more respectable part of the inhabitants had nearly deserted the city, and the lower orders had already commenced their usual plundering, which they certainly carried on in a most systematic way. Edicts were issued, setting forth that if the inhabitants returned, their property would be respected; but none of them availed themselves of this offer; nor was any attempt at

26th Cameronians, two rank and file killed, three rank and file wounded.

49th regiment, two rank and file killed; Captain T. S. Reynolds and Lieut.-Adjutant W. P. R. Brown, slightly, eleven rank and file wounded.

55th regiment, Captain Colin Campbell dangerously wounded, since dead.

Madras Sappers, Lieutenant J. G. Johnstone, slightly wounded.

36th Madras native infantry rifles, one rank and file, wounded.

ransom made: consequently, the city was given up to pillage.

The Chinese government now began to evince symptoms of yielding to the pressure from our force. Elepoo, who, it will be remembered, had been degraded, was recalled, and reappointed governor of these fine provinces. Immediately on recovering the seals of office, he sent a messenger to know whether the general would receive him on the part of the people he governed. He was answered in the negative, and informed that the English would only treat with persons sent by the emperor with full powers. At the same time, the Chinese prisoners were released.

The city had been fired in several places, and before it was evacuated by our troops, a large part was destroyed: heavy rains were experienced, but they had no effect in quenching the conflagration. About this time the Queen steamer was dispatched to Hong-Kong, to bring her Majesty's Plenipotentiary to the scene of action.

After the completion of the operations at

Chapoo, the force re-embarked, and on the 28th of the month took their departure for the Yang-tse-kiang, and anchored on the following day at a safe and commodious sound in the Rugged islands, fourteen leagues to the northward. This anchorage had been discovered by the united exertions of Commanders Kellet and Collinson, who, in their respective vessels, accompanied by the Algerine, Lieutenant W. Maitland, were now busily employed in exploring a safe passage for the fleet into the "Child of the Ocean." This arduous duty was completed by the 4th of June, and on the following day the fleet moved to the northward; but from the necessity of anchoring at night, combined with the calm and foggy state of the weather, it was the 8th before the force had assembled off Amherst rocks,—the point of rendezvous from whence the Modeste, Phlegethon, and Nemesis were immediately dispatched to intercept any communication with Woosung, a village standing at the junction of the Woosung river with the vast embouchure of the gigantic Yang-tse-kiang.

Commander Watson was now indefatigably employed in making observations and sounding the narrow channel that led into the Woosung river. At the same time, from the lowness of the coast, it was impossible to get any land-marks for entering the south branch of the Yang-tse-kiang, in order to carry on the operations of the expedition in the waters of that enormous stream. Six of the small vessels were therefore anchored for the purpose of beacons at the edge of the shoals on the north side of the channel, leading up the south passage.

The Ariadne iron steamer had a narrow escape from foundering, having run on the point of a sunken rock, which knocked a hole in that compartment of the vessel in which the engine was situated. Had it not been for this peculiar method now applied to iron steam-boats, which in fact is a Chinese invention, she must have foundered. However, a thrumbed sail was got under her bottom, and thus, with the assistance of the Sesostris, she reached Chusan.

On the 13th, the thickness of the weather

having prevented an earlier movement, the Cornwallis, conducted by Commander Kellet, and accompanied by the Blonde, Columbine, Jupiter troop-ship, Phlegethon, Tenassarim, Medusa, steam-vessels, and twelve transports, proceeded under sail to the anchorage off Woosung. The Cornwallis ran for thirty miles with only three feet more water than her draught.

A close reconnoissance of the enemy's positions was made on the 14th by the commanders-in-chief. The western defences consisted of an uninterrupted line of fortified embankment, extending for three miles between the city of Paoushan and the village of Woosung along the shore of the southern Yang-tse-kiang, and mounting 134 guns.

The village of Woosung is bounded by a creek, on the opposite shore of which a tower and semicircular battery of ten 24-pounders flanked the approach to the river; while the sea defence was completed by a battery of twenty-one guns at the eastern entrance. The distance between this fort and the main-work was not more than a

mile: the channel which ran in a curve between them did not exceed three hundred yards in breadth. No landing-place for the troops could be discovered by which they might turn the enemy's defences, except one about half-way between Paoushan and Woosung.

In the night it was ascertained that the water, at the point proposed for landing on, shoaled to three feet about two hundred yards from the banks; it was therefore decided to silence the works with the ships, and then to disembark the troops at a regular landing-place close to the village.

The nights were now devoted to placing buoys in the passage to guide the ships into the attack. This duty was performed by Commanders Kellet and Collinson, aided by the masters of the fleet, the Medusa being advanced close in and attended by guard-boats to prevent the Chinese from removing the buoys, which most unaccountably they had allowed to be placed without interruption. It subsequently appeared that they thought they were moorings for the

ships, and had pointed all their guns at them, fully expecting to blow the barbarians out of the water.

On the morning of the 16th, the tide and weather being favourable, though the wind was adverse,—a circumstance of little consequence, as the return of the Sesostris from Chusan the previous day, had enabled Sir William Parker to appoint a steamer to each ship. The squadron* weighed, the Blonde leading in to the attack. The frigate and line-of-battle ship, piloted by the two zealous commanders before named, were to engage the heavy batteries, while the small vessels were to pass under the cover of their fire to the attack of the flanking works.

At about half past six o'clock A.M., the ships were anchored by the stern, within five hundred yards of the main work, the Chinese having opened a steady and well-

* Blonde, towed by the Tenasserim; Cornwallis, towed by the Sesostris; Modeste, towed by the Nemesis; Columbine, towed by the Phlegethon; the Clio, towed by the Pluto; the Algerine to approach as near as she could under sail, while the Medusa was reserved to meet contingencies.

directed fire on them as they advanced. At this moment the North Star was perceived striving to enter the river, when the Tenasserim proceeding to take her in tow, speedily placed her in a position a-head of the Blonde.

The gun practice of the squadron is spoken of with admiration by the admiral, and was fully proved by the fact, that by 8 A.M. the enemy were driven from their guns, and the batteries a-breast of the ships reduced to ruins.

While this had been going on at the entrance of the river, the light squadron led by the Modeste had been ably doing their work, the former ships pushing into Woosung creek, while the brigs attacked the opposite flank of the semicircular battery, which was immediately abandoned on their fire being opened, while the other guns were speedily silenced. The commanders then landed at the head of their men, and after a little opposition took possession of the works. On this movement being perceived, the seamen and marines of the ships at the entrance

of the river, and who were already in their boats, immediately landed under their respective captains, and soon cleared the whole line of the western defences, while Commander Ormsby from the Sesostris occupied the eastern battery.

The Nemesis and Phlegethon, on casting off their respective vessels, pursued and destroyed thirteen war junks; three were also taken with *paddle wheels working with winches;* a striking instance of the Chinese imitative ability, the notion having been evidently taken from the steamers, though the production was no match for the "Devil ships." The Sesostris and her companions having taken the ground during these operations, it was one o'clock before all the troops could be disembarked, when the combined force entered Paoushan without opposition. The loss of the Chinese was considerable, their force consisting of from four to five thousand men, under Admiral Chin, who fell in the batteries, where between forty and fifty dead bodies were found, besides those which undoubtedly had been carried off. On our

side, two were killed, one of which was Lieut. Hewitt, R.N., of the Blonde: we had also twenty-five wounded.

Woosung is a wretched village, and Paoushan, though a walled town, proved but a poor place, indeed the whole of the neighbouring country was by no means so populous and fertile as other parts of China.

It being decided to attack the city of Changhai *, a large commercial town sixteen miles up the Woosung, the Phlegethon and Medusa, under Commander Kellet, were detached up the river to ascertain what obstructions were likely to be met with, but they shortly returned, having been stopped by two heavy batteries. The Modeste, Columbine, and Clio, in tow of these steamers, were immediately despatched to take up a position near these works. Captain Watson, on his approach with the Modeste and Columbine, the Clio having grounded, finding that the batteries were deserted, landed with the marines and blue jackets, and destroyed

* According to Wyld's Map, but termed Shanghae in the despatches.

the works and guns, which were found to consist of eight copper and thirty-three iron on the starboard side of the river, and eight copper and six iron on the port side. Seven war junks were also burnt, an eighth being retained for the purpose of embarking the copper guns. The force on this day also received an addition of H.M.S. Dido, accompanied by eight transports with troops.

The destruction of the military materials at Woosung and Paoushan being completed, the troops were, on the morning of the 19th, embarked on board the steamers. Taking the North Star and the three before-mentioned vessels in tow, they proceeded to the intended point of attack, the commander-in-chief accompanying the force in the Medusa; while a column *, under Lieut.-Colonel Montgomerie, approached it by a road that existed between Woosung and Changhai.

The navigation of this fine river was found easy, and by half-past one o'clock the force,

* 18th Royal Irish; 49th Regiment; Detachments of Madras Horse Artillery, Royal Artillery, Sappers and Miners, and four light field-guns, in all about 1000 men.

the North Star leading, came within sight of Changhai, a rich commercial city, containing about 60 or 70,000 inhabitants. The place was surrounded by a wall about three miles and a quarter in extent, in perfect repair, and having a few guns mounted at the gateways. As the force advanced a fire was opened on the North Star, when the steamers casting off their to , the ships shot up into close position, and the Chinese fled from their guns. Captain Bourchier immediately landed with the seamen and marines, and took possession of the works, on which 49 guns (17 of brass) were mounted.

The steamers had at the same time disembarked the troops at the city, which was found in possession of Colonel Montgomerie, who, on hearing the firing, had pushed on his advance, and finding no opposition entered the town. The mandarins had fled the preceding night, after a sharp encounter with the populace, whom they had first squeezed, under a pretence of raising guards for their protection, and then deserted in their need. The principal people were now

seen flying with their goods and families. The Columbine and Medusa were therefore dispatched to the southward of the city, to check their emigration. The river at this spot, though not less than one-third of a mile across, was literally covered with craft of all sizes, carrying off all sorts of goods and chattels.

The respectable part of the community that did remain, evinced less fear of their invaders than had been shown at other places, and willingly produced supplies of all kinds; —no unwelcome thing to men who had been for some weeks on *her Majesty's own.* It is but due to soldiers and sailors to say, that they behaved exceedingly well, though shamsoo abounded; nor were any depredations committed on the inhabitants, except by their own countrymen, who, from the stagnation of trade, had formed themselves into small bands of robbers, and infested the country. So *au fait* were the marauders at their work, that it was no unusual practice with them to set fire to each end of a street, and thus prevent their being interfered with,

while they carried off their plunder by the cross lanes! Wherever one of the large pawn shops was established, the street was certain of meeting with this fate. Quantities of guns and other materials of war, with a large store of rice, were found in the city.

While the force were occupied in the work of destruction, Sir William Parker, with the light steamers, proceeded up the river, which he succeeded in ascending thirty-seven miles in a direct line, or forty-seven including the sinuosities above Changhai. He was then stopped by the shallowness of the water at the entrance of a large lagoon, but from speaking some coal junks it appeared that the small steamers might reach Su-chan-foo if requisite, and that they were then within twenty-five miles of that rich and populous city. However, it being desirable that the operations up the Yang-tse-kiang should be forwarded with as little delay as possible, the troops were embarked on the 23d, and the vessels once more dropped down to Wosung.

During the operations in this river, the

force had captured and destroyed nearly 400 pieces of ordnance of various calibre. Many of the brass guns bore inscriptious indicating their anticipated exploits, such as "The tamer and subduer of the Barbarians." One massive piece of the largest calibre was styled "THE BARBARIAN!!"

The Belleisle, from England, and numerous transports from India having arrived with reinforcements that had been forwarded to the scene of action, under the energetic direction of the present Government, the commanders-in-chief were enabled on the 6th of July to commence their operations up the Yang-tse-kiang with a force of seventy-three vessels of all arms, carrying a proportionate number of troops, in five divisions, preceded by the surveying-vessels, which buoyed off the more intricate parts of the channel. By the 9th, the force had arrived at the spot where the survey carried on by Captain Bethune of the Conway ended. With fine breezes the fleet pursued its course, occasionally grounding, but without injury; on approaching Fushan and

Keang-yin two small batteries were discovered, mounting in all nineteen guns, but which were withdrawn on the approach of the ships.

The surveying vessels having arrived off Sethan, received a fire from three batteries of twenty guns. This place is about five leagues below the spot where the grand canal intersects the river, and where the little drain of flood tide is entirely lost, while the river stream constantly flows down from two and a half to three and a half miles per hour, the rise and fall varying about two feet. The advance squadron, on their arrival at the same place three days later, were subjected to *the same attentions*, but on the return of a few guns from the Modeste, the forts were abandoned by the Chinese, and immediately destroyed by our men.

Scant winds delayed the fleet for some days at this anchorage, but the surveying officers pursued their examinations of the rivers. On the 15th, Commander Kellet with the steamers was fired upon, at the entrance of the narrow channel between the Island of Tscaoshan and a commanding pro-

montory on its south side, by a battery of twelve guns, but which was soon silenced.

The same afternoon a reconnoissance of the approaches of Tchang-kiang * was made by the commanders-in-chief, when the batteries and neighbouring villages were found deserted by their defenders. The steamer passed within a short distance of the grand canal, which runs through the suburb; numerous gazers crowded the shore, but not a soldier or encampment could be seen. It was therefore naturally supposed that no resistance would be offered. The reconnoissance was carried on as far as the Island of Kinshan, a rock a few hundred yards in circumference, covered with temples and imperial pavilions, many of which were in ruins, or occupied by priests alone. The summit of this spot was crowned by a seven-storied pagoda, and a few trees were scattered about it. As a military position it was altogether valueless. An ample depth of water for the fleet was found the whole way.

On the 17th, Captain Bourchier, in the

* The Chin-kiang-foo of the despatches.

Blonde, was dispatched with a squadron * to blockade the entrance of the grand canal, and gained an admirable position for that object above Kinshan. It was calculated that by this movement the passage of not less than seven hundred junks was interrupted, and consequently the whole trade with Pekin was cut off.

On the 19th, the Cornwallis, towed by the Vixen, succeeded in taking up a berth off the city of Tchang-kiang, at the entrance of the south Grand Canal, while her marines occupied the Island of Kinshan; a shift of wind enabled the remainder of the fleet to join by the 20th.

Tchang-kiang stands within little more than half a mile of the river, and is surrounded by a wall in excellent repair, the northern end and eastern sides facing upon steep hills, while the southern and western look towards the low ground. The Imperial Canal serving in some measure as a wet ditch to them. To the westward the suburb, through which

* Modeste, Dido, Calliope, Childers, Plover, Starling, and Queen and Nemesis steamers.

the canal passed, extended to the river and terminated under a precipitous hill opposite to and within one thousand yards of Kinshan. About a mile and a half lower down there was a bluff height connected by a narrow ridge with a smaller hill, both capped with joss-houses, and both commanding the northern angle. From the pagoda on the top of Kinshan three encampments on hills at some distance beyond the canal, and to the southward of the city, were discovered, and so was a good landing-place, below those hills, and nearly opposite Kinshan. A ready means was thus afforded for acting against these camps.

On the 21st, the reconnoissance being completed, and the ships being in position, though their broadsides had nothing to do with the transactions of the day, the troops in three brigades * commenced landing as early as

* First Brigade, under Major-Gen. Lord Saltoun:
26th Cameronians, Lieut.-Colonel Pratt;
Bengal Volunteers, Lieut.-Colonel Loyd;
Flank Companies, 41st Madras N.I., Major Campbell;
98th Regiment, Lieut.-Colonel Campbell.

possible; but from the strength of the tides and the distance of some of the transports, it was not effected as readily as was contemplated by the generals. The second brigade landed under the bluff height, and occupied the hills above it. They were directed to turn this diversion into a real attack, if it could be done without much loss. The first brigade was landed under the hills, accompanied by Sir H. Gough; the artillery and the third brigade followed.

The general now obtained a good view of the enemy's encampment, in which there was about 1,500 men. Lord Saltoun was therefore directed to move forward with such portions of his brigade as had first landed, and

Second Brigade, under Major-Gen. Schoedde:
Royal Artillery, Captain Greenwood;
55th Regiment, Major Warren;
6th Madras N.I., Lieut.-Colonel Drever;
Rifles, 36th Madras N.I., Captain Simpson;
2nd Madras N.I., Lieut.-Colonel Luard;
Detachment of Sappers, Lieut. Johnstone.

Third Brigade, under Major-General Bartley:
18th Royal Irish, Major Cowper;
14th Madras N.I., Major Young;
49th Regiment, Lieut.-Colonel Stephens.

cut off the communication with the city. Majors Gough and Kent, with three companies of Bengal volunteers, were directed to proceed by a path over some undulating ground, and fall on the enemy's right. These three companies were the first to come in contact with the enemy, by whom probably they were unobserved until they came close upon their flank. The whole encampment was quickly carried, and the fugitives followed up for some distance by the troops sent against them.

The 26th, on landing, advanced to cover some guns which were being placed on a low hill to the west of the town, a strong position commanding the walls, which could thus be taken in reverse. The third brigade having come up, it became requisite before commencing the attack, to discover whether the canal was fordable, Major Gough being directed to ascertain this rushed down the bank, accompanied by three officers*, and all

* Captain Locke, R.N., an amateur and serving as extra A.D.C. to Sir Hugh Gough; Lieut. Hodgson, R.N., of the Cornwallis, and Lieut. Heatley, D.A.A.G.

four swam across, thus proving that the force could not get over at that point. It was now decided to attack the western gate, and two guns under Lieut. Molesworth, M.A., were placed to take the works in flank, while Captain Pears, under their cover, placed the powder bags, and blew open the gates. Entrance was thus given to the troops into an outwork of considerable magnitude, and of which Captain Richards of the Cornwallis with the marines was already in possession, he having scaled the walls, while the enemy was diverted by the attack on the gate.

We will now join the 2nd brigade and trace their movements. Upon their disembarkation at the bluff point before spoken of, the joss-house was quickly occupied, while the rifles were thrown out to a small wooded hill in front. The enemy opened a spirited fire on that part of the brigade that had landed, which the Royal Artillery returned with considerable effect.

Half the rifle company under Captain Simpson, now rushed from the hill, across

the valley, and under shelter of the wall, kept up a well directed fire on the embrasures. Covered by the rifles, the grenadiers of the 55th, with two companies of the 6th Madras Native Infantry, under Major M'Lean, advanced against the north-east angle of the walls, and mounted the scaling ladders placed by the sappers, Lieutenant Cuddy gallantly setting the example. A most obstinate resistance was made at this point by the Tartars; they disputed every inch of ground, so that each angle and embrasure was carried at the point of the bayonet, while the brigade having separated to the right and left as they escaladed, fought their way along the walls. Major Warren, commanding the 55th, after being wounded cut down two of the enemy, and was personally engaged with a third. It was about one hour and a half before this brigade made their way round to the western gate, where they arrived just as the 3rd brigade had carried the outer defences.

By these combined movements a large body of Tartars were driven into a division of the western works, without a possibility of

retreat, and as they would not surrender, most of them were shot or buried under the ruins of the now burning houses.

The heat of the day was awfully intense. Colonel Driver and several men had already fallen victims to the sun; Sir Hugh Gough was naturally anxious to keep his men as much under cover as was possible, but the 3rd brigade was directed to move round the west face and occupy the gates to the south and east. This brigade soon fell in with about 1000 Tartars under cover of some inclosures, who resisted in many cases with great desperation, but were quickly routed under the spirited attack of those veterans in the *celestial* war, the 18th and 49th. Sir William Parker, attended by the marines, while moving round the walls lately cleared by the 55th, being attracted by this firing, attempted to cross the city, in doing which, he was strongly opposed by bodies of Tartars collected at several points. The troops were now too much exhausted to undertake any fresh movements until the close of the day; the gates were therefore occupied until 6 o'clock.

I may embrace this interval to state the movements of the naval service; though the operations were so entirely military, that I have but little to say about them.

Simultaneously with the military movements already described, Lieutenant Crouch, a young officer who had been promoted for his services in the Canton river, but who was now in command of the boats of the Blonde, being anxious to land a small body of artillery, as near to the west gate as possible, pushed up the canal, which as it subsequently proved, ran close to the city wall, at this point much hid by the buildings of the suburb. The advanced boats therefore unexpectedly became exposed to a severe fire, by which Lieut. Crouch received three wounds, and sixteen out of twenty-four seamen, two officers of artillery, and eight men were rendered *hors de combat*. Mr. Crouch, with great presence of mind saved the remainder of his boats, the enemy having a temporary possession of the flat and barge.

This mishap was at once communicated to Captain Richards, who instantly landed with

200 marines, and being joined by three companies of the 6th Madras Native Infantry, pushed through the suburbs to the walls, while the boats of the flag-ship moved up the canal on his flank, and joining the Blonde's boats opened a smart fire. Captain Richards having found a heap of rubbish from which his ladders could reach the parapet, (30 feet high,) was in the act of raising them when Commander Watson with the marines of his ship arrived. Lieutenant Baker, Commander Watson, Captain Richards and a marine of the Modeste were the first to ascend, the two former of whom were wounded, and the latter killed by the enemy's fire from the battlements of the western gate. Thus did they intrepidly establish themselves in the works between the outer and inner defences, where they were found by the 3rd brigade, which almost simultaneously had carried the outer gate; at which time, too, the second brigade coming along the ramparts, as stated before, had cleared the inner one.

At 6 P.M. several parties were pushed into the heart of the city, where the scene was

most appalling. Numerous houses were found burnt to the ground; and many were strewed with the dead bodies of Tartars who had fallen by their own hands, after having murdered their wives and children, and thrown their bodies into wells and other places. Others were suspended by the neck in closets and behind the doors. The sight is described by those who witnessed it as most sickening, even shocking the men who were most inured to the horrors of war. Hai, the Lieut.-General of the Tartars, when the day was lost, seated himself on a chair in his house, and directing his servants to set fire to it, deliberately perished in the flames. His secretary being found the following day by Mr. Morrison, pointed out the body of the unfortunate man. The commanders-in-chief, anxious to avert from Nankin the calamities that had befallen Tchang-kiang, immediately dispatched the Tartar secretary with a summons and terms of capitulation to Newkien, Viceroy of the two Kiang provinces.

The loss of the Tartars from our weapons and their own hands, must have been most

awful, for their force in the city was estimated at between three and four thousand, out of which number but few comparatively throwing off the military appearance escaped to Nankin. Our loss consisted of 37 killed and dead from fatigue, 127 wounded, and 3 missing. *

* List of killed and wounded on the 21st of July, 1842.

Her Majesty's 49th regiment, Lieut. T. P. Gibbons, killed.

6th regiment Madras native infantry, Lieut.-Colonel Driver, died from fatigue.

18th Royal Irish, Captain Collinson, killed.

Her Majesty's ship Cornwallis, Brevet-Major James Uniacke, R.M., died from fatigue.

Killed, 4 officers, 2 sergeants, 29 rank and file, and 2 marines. Total 37.

Wounded:

Royal artillery, Lieut. J. N. A. Freere, slightly.

Madras artillery, Lieut. C. D. Waddell, severely.

Assistant-surgeon, C. Timmins, severely; Subadar, Major Ramasawny, slightly.

18th Royal Irish, Lieut. Bernard, slightly.

26th Cameronians, Ensign Duperier, slightly.

49th regiment, Lieut. Baddely, dangerously; Lieut. Grant, slightly.

55th regiment, Major Warren, severely; Lieutenant Cuddy, severely.

2d Madras native infantry, Lieut. Carr, Adjutant, slightly; Ensign Travers, slightly; Jemadar Mundah slightly.

The city was found to be about four miles in circumference, with a much larger suburb. It wore the same regularity of appearance as the Tartar post of Chapoo. The numbers of dead women and children may be accounted for by the fact, that every Tartar soldier is compelled to marry. It is indeed frightful to consider the loss of human life that must have occurred in this ill-fated place, the men horribly destroying their own families, under the influence of misapprehension of the character and disposition of their conquerors.

About 50,000 dollars' worth of sycee was found in the treasury, and embarked on board the ships. The arms and arsenals

36th regiment, Madras native infantry rifles, Captain Simpson, severely.

Her Majesty's ship Cornwallis, Lieut. James Fitzjames, severely.

Her Majesty's ship Blonde, Lieut. Edward Crouch, severely; Mr. Henry T. Lyon, midshipman, slightly.

Her Majesty's ship Modeste, Commander R. L. Watson, slightly.

Wounded, 18 officers, 1 warrant-officer, 4 sergeants, one drummer, 36 rank and file, 15 seamen, and 2 marines. Total 127.

Missing, 1 drummer, 2 rank and file.

were destroyed, and the walls breached in many places. The better part of the inhabitants having forsaken the suburbs, the usual number of robbers flocked in, and by reason of the labyrinth of streets, as well as the oppressive state of the weather, carried on their depredations without much molestation. Cholera unhappily broke out among our troops, and many brave fellows who had stood untouched in battle, now fell before this scourge of mankind.

After the capture of this important spot, Keeying and Elepoo again attempted to open communications, but not being accredited with full powers were disregarded. In the mean time, the second brigade being quartered on the bluff point, and on the Island Kinshan, and a guard of ships remaining, the rest of the force was embarked on the 29th, preparatory to advancing on Nankin, to which place, however, they could not proceed for some days, owing to contrary winds. But on the 4th of April the Cornwallis and other men of war anchored off the ancient capital of China; Sir Henry Pottinger, Sir

Hugh Gough, and Lord Saltoun's brigade arrived on the following day, and by the 9th the whole force of 4,500 fighting men had assembled, not only astounding the black-haired race of Han, but creating the admiration of Europe herself, at the energy of British character, that, under the blessing of the Almighty, had placed, without an accident, *a fleet of seventy sail* at 200 miles from the ocean, in the heart of the Celestial Empire!

As it appeared unlikely that the object of the expedition would be gained without a strong demonstration, the troops were disembarked, and by the 11th every thing was prepared for the attack of this city, containing about 1,000,000 of inhabitants. The Tartar troops amounted to 6,000, and the Chinese regulars to 9,000, together with a large body of militia. From the immense extent of wall to be defended, it was very evident that the city must have fallen before the plans the general had devised, had not the necessity been averted by the Chinese suing for terms, and sending to beg for forty-

eight hours' time, as mandarins of the highest rank, deputed by the Emperor to treat for peace, were then actually approaching.

The position of Nankin is thus described by Sir Hugh Gough:—"It would not be easy to give your Lordships a clear description of this vast city, or rather of the vast space encompassed within its walls. I shall therefore only observe, that the northern angle reaches to within about 700 paces of the river, and that the western face runs for some miles along the base of wooded heights, rising immediately behind it, and is then continued for a great distance upon low ground, having before it a deep canal, which also extends along the southern face, serving as a wet ditch to both. There is a very large suburb on the low ground in front of the west and south faces, and at the south-east angle is the Tartar city, which is a separate fortress, divided from the Chinese town by high walls. The eastern face extends in an irregular line for many miles, running towards the south over a spur of Chungshan, a precipitous mountain, overlooking the whole

country, the base of which commands the rampart. In this face are three gates: the most northerly (the Teshing) is approached by a paved road, running between wooded hills to within 500 paces of the walls, whence it is carried along a cultivated flat; the next (the Taiping) is within a few hundred yards of the base of Chungshan, and that to the south (the Chanyang) enters the Tartar city. There is a long line of unbroken wall between the Teshing gate and the river, hardly approachable from swamps and low paddy land, and the space between the Teshing and Taiping gates is occupied by rather an extensive lake. The neighbourhood of these last-mentioned gates was very closely and judiciously reconnoitred by Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomerie and Captain Pears."

Nankin (the word being literally translated means "the southern capital") is styled in official documents Keang-sing-foo, and stands about half-way between Canton and Pekin. From its position, about two hundred miles up the main artery of China,

in 32° 04′ north latitude, it has an excellent climate. The walls, from seventy feet in the highest to twenty-eight in the lowest part, surround an area of about twenty miles, great part of which is under cultivation; in fact, the modern town, situated in the southern side of the enclosure, does not occupy one third of the space. The famous porcelain tower is in this modern city—porcelain only in its tiles. The nine-storied pagoda is amongst the finest in China, and is nearly two hundred feet in height, with an octagonal base and a spiral staircase leading to its summit, with images of Budha and the goddess Kwan-yin in niches on its sides.

Nankin is famous for the manufactory of silks, crapes, and the coloured cotton cloth that bears its name. The Nankin ink and paper is also highly valued by the natives. That pithy substance so much admired for the softness it gives to all subjects depicted on it, and commonly called rice-paper in England, is also prepared in the neighbourhood from a leguminous plant, *Tungtsaou*, which is found in most marshy places. The

buildings in this city partake of the characteristic of Chinese towns before described; the streets are equally narrow and ill-paved.

After a delay somewhat longer than was at first anticipated, from causes which I need not relate, and perhaps, too, from a little Chinese manœuvring to gain time for private communication with the imperial cabinet, the plenipotentiary on the 17th communicated to the commanders-in-chief that the following treaty of peace had been signed by the imperial commissioners, viz.: —

1. Kee-ying, a member of the imperial family, and commander-in-chief of the Tartar troops in Konang-sung.

2. Eleepo, lieutenant-general of Chapoo, a former governor of Tze-kiang, but degraded last year in consequence of his having liberated the prisoners.

3. Gnu, general-in-chief of the provinces Keang-sou and Keang-si.

"1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.

"2. China to pay 21,000,000 dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years.

"3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow-foo, Ningpo, and Shang-hai to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them; and regular and just tariff of import and export (as well as inland transit) duties to be established and published.

"4. The Island of Hong-kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors.

"5. All subjects of her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released.

"6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under his imperial sign manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service or intercourse with, or resided under the British Government or its officers.

"7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality amongst the officers of both governments.

"8. On the Emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the

first instalment, 6,000,000 dollars, her Britannic Majesty's forces to retire from Nankin and the Grand Canal, and the military posts at Chinhai to be withdrawn, but the islands of Chusan and Ko-long-soo are to be held until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports be completed."

Active hostilities therefore ceased, and the Emperor's assent to the provisions of the treaty having been intimated by an imperial edict on the 29th, vessels were despatched to the different Chinese ports to remove the embargoes on their trade.

During the preliminary arrangements of peace the Chinese authorities visited the Cornwallis, where they were received in great state and shown round the ship. The formidable appointments of *the barbarian sanpan* somewhat astonished the mind of their excellencies, while bumpers of cherry brandy upset the equilibrium of several jolly members of their suite. The entertainment was duly returned, when shamsoo took the place of cherry brandy.

Pending the same negotiations, some little noise having taken place in our camp, the Chinese became exceedingly alarmed, and fancied they were about to be immediately attacked. Three or four terrified *buttons* of different colours, under the influence of this false alarm, came panting to the river bank a-breast of the Queen steamer, on board which vessel the plenipotentiary was, and wading into the water nearly up to their chins, waved white flags, and shouted out at the top of their voices, Peace! peace! peace!

## CONCLUSION.

The dispute with "the celestial empire" having been brought, by the energetic measures of our present Government, to a triumphant conclusion, and that, not so much by the mere destruction of junks and forts as by the consequent pressure on the trade of the country, nothing more remains for me to do, than to offer a few general remarks in concluding this narrative of events.

The military tactics of the Chinese must be regarded as far below mediocrity; and can it be otherwise with a people, among whom the recommendation of a general for employment is not his intimate acquaintance with the arts of war, but rather his acuteness to frame and his effrontery to utter the most unblushing falsehoods, in order to deceive his opponents? No deceit is too gross, no artifice too mean and dirty for a mandarin, whether soldier, magistrate, or statesman, to stoop to. The following Chinese maxim illustrates the justness of this stricture:—"When the territory of our sovereign is in difficulty we ought immediately to deliver it. What would be the use of adhering bigotedly to a little bit of good faith, thereby involving doubts and delays?"

That individuals possessing personal courage are to be found, both among Chinese and Tartars, many a single combat has shown. The latter, indeed, both at Chapoo and Tchang-kiang, when all retreat was cut off, fought with a determination that was not expected. However, upon giving the subject

our consideration, we shall find that this originated not so much from the *esprit de corps* of soldiers, 'as from the desperation of men fighting for their wives and children, whom they fully expected would be treated by their conquerors with the same inhuman barbarity as they would have inflicted upon us, had we lost the day. Let us take the following speech of one of their commissioners by way of illustration:—"We have been like children gambling, but not understanding the game we were playing; *we* have lost and must pay: had *you* lost, we should have made *you* pay." And most assuredly they would have made us *pay;* for hundreds of English would have been chopped up at Pekin to evince the triumph of the empire over the rebel barbarians.

"The Chinese," says the late Doctor Morrison, who had ample opportunity of forming a correct opinion, "are specious, but insincere, jealous, envious, and distrustful to a high degree; they are generally selfish, cold-blooded, and inhuman." Can we, I would add, accord to them a single virtue? We

might allow them one, filial affection, if that virtue, great and redeeming as it would otherwise be, did not arise more from the force of education and habit, than from the outpouring of a generous and humane heart.

The losses of the enemy, to say nothing of the wounded (vast numbers of whom probably died), cannot have fallen much short of twenty thousand, exclusive of such as perished by disease. This must of course be regarded as a rough calculation, their habit of carrying off their killed and wounded whenever by any exertion they could do so, rendering it impossible in any one instance to discover the exact number of the slain. Much as we may lament the necessity of inflicting so severe a chastisement on a people whose rulers alone were in fault, these losses are but a mere drop in comparison of the resources of an empire which maintains at least one million of men for military service, whom it draws from one-third of the human race.

While speaking of the disasters of the Chinese, our own losses must not be hid. Few indeed have been laid low by the wea-

pons of war, but among those few were some gallant and choice spirits. The messenger of death, however, in other forms, either by shipwreck or by disease, has swept away full two thousand of our brave fellows. These losses are not attributable to intemperance, but to the privations our men had often to endure whilst carrying on the most severe and harassing duties in a climate uncongenial to the European constitution.'

It is but due to all engaged in the expedition to add, if I may be allowed to say so, that their conduct throughout was marked by discipline, moderation and temperance, with but comparatively few exceptions; so much so, that the British nation may reasonably be proud of her forces, both naval and military, employed more or less for the last three years on the coast of China.

During this period our arms captured and destroyed considerably more than *three thousand pieces of cannon;* to say nothing of innumerable ginjals, matchlocks, and other minor weapons. In Canton river alone thirty forts with many sand-bag batteries

were destroyed; which number might be trebled, if we were closely to examine the results of the operations at Amoy, Chusan, Chin-hai, Ning-po, Chapoo, and in the waters of the Yang-tse-kiang. Added to this, the Chinese navy, such as it was, has been nearly annihilated, numerous founderies, powder-mills, and stores, with all manner of ammunition, materials, and provision, have been destroyed.'

These losses must have cost the Chinese government an incalculable sum; besides which we must reckon the sycee and dollars either captured, actually paid, or to be paid according to the terms of agreement at the following amount:—

| | $ |
|---|---|
| ound in the Treasury at Ting-hai on the 5th July, 1840 .. .. .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Paid for the ransom of Canton and injury done to the British, May, 1841 .. | 6,669.615 |
| Treasury at Amoy, 26th August, 1841 .. | 20,000 |
| Taken at Ning-po, the 13th October, 1841 | 120,000 |
| At Tchang-kiang .. .. .. .. .. .. | 50,000 |
| Paid at Nankin, first instalment of indemnification for the war .. .. .. .. .. | 6,000,000 |
| To be paid before the expiration of three years .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 15,000,000 |
| Total $ | 27,859,618 |

We must add to this the value of two hundred tons of copper found at Chin-hai, while for the 20,283 chests of opium destroyed at the Bocca Tigris, we must allow at the very least 6,000,000 dollars. The booms of timber, too, employed for the defence of Canton must have cost upwards of 1,000,000 dollars. Thus, altogether, China has smarted most severely for the perfidy of her mandarins, the duplicity of her commissioners, and the bad faith of the cabinet itself.

While this salutary lesson is remembered by those who have felt it, we may reasonably hope to find this vain but wily government inclined to deal fairly by us. I think, however, they will contrive to invent many an excuse for evading the letter of their terms. They may try to make *us* pay the millions of dollars, by putting additional imposts on their exports: but this will surely be prevented by the character of the tariff, on which our authorities will insist. It may also behove us to maintain for some time a commanding force in the China seas, not

forgetting the perfidious character of a nation who, having despised us before as barbarians, now hate us as their conquerors. It will be long ere their pride will forgive us for the humiliating discipline we have applied to them.

It will be our wisdom, however, to maintain the vantage ground which, through the blessing of the Almighty upon our arms, we have acquired, as well as to embrace every opportunity of making them understand the real character of the great nation they have to deal with; and in order to do this, we must treat them with firmness combined with liberality. Let us hope that the way may thus be opened for enlightening their minds with the truths of that Christianity which is the real basis of Britain's glory.

Much opposed as the government of China has ever been to the Christian religion, I do not despair of the arrival of that day, when under the influence of the spirit of the Most High the disciples of Christ shall abound and be protected even in the cities of "the central flowery land." Why should not

Japan too, ere long, under the results of similar operations, be induced to open her ports to the Christian trader, and respect that cross of Christ on which she now tramples?

One observation more and we have done. There is an old legend among the Chinese containing a prophecy that their country would at some day be vanquished by a female hand. We are not superstitious in such things: nevertheless, it is somewhat remarkable, that the exploits recorded in this Narrative have been carried on under the auspices of OUR GRACIOUS QUEEN! and who will be bold enough to deny that China has been prostrate at her feet? who will venture to assert that, while our forces were hourly increasing, the grand canal under our command, and Nankin at our mercy, almost any terms might have been dictated had aggression been our object? Pekin itself compelled to capitulate and the Mantchow dynasty overthrown? For, her navy annihilated, her forts in ruins, her cities captured, Canton ransomed, her ancient capital under the muzzle

of our guns, and the throne of the Mant-chows trembling to its foundation, it is not too much to affirm that

CHINA HAS BEEN CONQUERED
BY A WOMAN.

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# APPENDIX

## APPENDIX A.

*Imperial Edicts and Provincial Reports relative to the Occupation of Chusan and to the Trial of Lin.*

### No. 1.

Woo, the lieutenant-governor, and Chuh, the commander of Che-keang, jointly report the loss of the city of Ting-hai. The foreign ships having hastily approached the important entrace to Chin-hai, we immediately planned with our might to resist and repel them, while we dispatch this express, reverently to report, looking up, and intreating the sacred glance upon it. I, the lieutenant-governor, as soon as the English wrote to the commandant of Ting-hai in a strain of seditious violence, considering the water approaches to the place, and planning what should be respecting them, have, on the 8th of July, sent this report by express. At the same time, I hastily set out, and travelling night and day, reached Chin-hai at 6 o'clock in the evening of the 9th, where I had an interview with the general, Chuh, and was astounded to learn, that on the 5th of the month Chang Cheaoufa, the commandant of Ting-hai had an engagement with the rebellious English, in which their guns wounded a very large number of our officers and soldiers, and sunk the vessels.

On the 6th of July the city of Ting-hai was attacked and taken by the said English, and Yaou Kwaetseang, the acting magistrate, and Yun Fuh, the secretary, not surrendering, were killed. But the commandant, Chang Chaoufa, and the lieutenant, Tseen Pinghwan, were wounded; and the acting

lieutenant, Lo Keenkung, and Lieutenant Wang Wanneen, and the acting ensign, Kung Petaou, all returned to Chin-hai. Also the sub-magistrate of Chinkeagaou, Choo Kweifuh, having previously received orders from the magistrate, had returned to his post soliciting aid. The rest of the civil and military officers are not to be found. I, the lieutenant-governor, receiving this intelligence, could not prevent my hair from bristling with anger. I also ascertained that Ting-hai was distant only about thirty miles, and that without shifting a sail, they could proceed to the mouth of Chin-hai, and straight pass into the interior: all the important passes are so situated as to have Ting-hai for their outside guard, and the opposite hills of Cheaoupo and Kinke to shut in the mouth of the entrance.

At first Commander Chuh distributed his soldiers of the five cantonments, above eight hundred, and commanded Hoo Tihyaou, an acting subordinate officer of Chin-hai cantonment, and Chow Szeching, the commander of the troops, at the left cantonment, to return to Chin-hai; and dispatched nine hundred soldiers to remain at the passes of the capital of the district, and on the line of the coasts, to guard these places. I, the lieutenant-governor, also commanded my soldiers, four hundred in number, to hasten to Chin-hai to wait for orders. I also commanded Tang Tingtsae, the prefect of Ning-po, to prepare vessels, and sink them at the entrance of the river; also to employ wooden piles, driven in the water, well secured with chains; and above them, on the shore, to build a wooden stockade to protect the place, and obstruct the way of the foreign ships that they may not be able to enter. Whilst thus planning and preparing, unexpectedly on the 13th day, about 4 A.M., according to an announcement, many foreign ships had been distinctly seen outside at Leihshan passing to and fro, not more than three or four miles distant from Chin-hai. We have at present taken up our residence at the entrance of the river, to give

orders and urge the soldiers most strenuously to provide against casualties.

We have also heard that five rebellious English ships have arrived, which, added to the others, make in all thirty-one ships, having guns on both sides, and fore and aft; the largest have three decks, the next size two, and the smallest one. Included are two vessels having wheels at their sides, which, revolving, propel them like the wind, passing to and fro with great rapidity, and acting as leaders. They have about five or six thousand soldiers. If we fight with them, it is necessary that we should have a corresponding number; then we can engage them. I, the commander, some time ago summoned three thousand five hundred soldiers from Hoo-chow, only three hundred of whom arrived.

These, with all the soldiers that I, the lieutenant-governor, command, which will arrive in a few days, (all the soldiers together at Chin-hai being only two thousand and some odd,) are so disproportioned to the number of foreign soldiers, that at present it is better to remove our force, and not hazard an engagement. First, we ought to devise some plan to wear out their soldiers, that they may be slow in advancing and retreating; and when our forces are collected in great numbers, we can again act together to resist and attack them, that at an appointed time we may at once seize them all. We must enjoin upon those who inhabit the coasts, at every landing place, to devise means to obstruct their landing. At Wan-chow and Hwang-gan there is no need of many soldiers: the force at Chin-hai being very small, it is our duty to request the imperial will, commanding Tang, the governor of Fuhkeen and Chekeang provinces, to select the great military officers to take command of the ships of war, and hastily dispatch them to Chekeang. It matters not where the foreign vessels are; we may then, by uniting this force with that of Chekeang, unitedly attack them.

We also request the imperial will commanding Elepoo-

the governor of Leang Keang, (Keangse, Keaugsoo, and Ganhwuy provinces,) to order the naval force stationed at the boundary of Chekeang to be on their guard, to prevent the foreign ships from passing northward, and send assistance to the Chekeang navy. Besides sending this to the provincial city of Chekeang, and to every civil and military officer at the several stations that they maintain the strictest guard, and also to the governors and lieutenant-governors of every province that they likewise order those under them to keep up a defensive guard, we also carefully dispatch our united report by post, and, bowing, intreat the emperor to bestow thereon his sacred glance, and instruct us. A careful report.

## No. 2.

A Memorial respecting the loss of Ting-hai in Chekeang. The imperial rescript has been received. The remissness of the naval and military forces of Chekeang can be known without inquiry. When the mean and contemptible (foreign fellows) dared to conduct, in this outrageous and seditious manner, the high civil and military officers were immediately filled with trepidation, and lost all self-command.

All they are ever good for is to know how to nourish their honourable selves, and live at ease. The imperial will is to be still further communicated. Respect this.

On the same day, July 18th, an imperial decree was received through the inner council: to wit, Woo reports that several English vessels have sailed to Ting-hai, in Chekeang, where the men landed, and excited disturbances, of which he has given the particulars. Formerly, in order to prohibit (the importation of) opium, the trade of the said foreigners at Canton was wholly cut off. The imperial will had been already sent down, commanding the governors and lieutenant-governors vigilantly to guard and defend all the passes by sea; how has it followed then that there has not been the least care exercised? Our officers are all no better

than wooden statues to allow them to land and excite sedition. Let Woourhkinggih and Chuh Tingpeaou, for their former acts, be both delivered over to the proper tribunal for examination, and punishment. Respect this.

On the same day a dispatch, travelling four hundred le daily, was also received from the board of war, communicated by the general council to Woo, the lieutenant-governor of Chekeang, dated July 20th, containing the imperial commands as follows:—

When, on account of the investigations into the opium traffic, the English lost all hopes of profit by trade, we were early apprehensive lest they should stealthily enter the ports and raise disturbances, and, therefore, gave repeated instructions to all the governors, lieutenant-governors, and commanders, to keep a close and vigilant guard upon all the ports and entrances, and not to permit the said foreigners to sail into them. Now it appears, from the report of Woo, that the English sent a letter to the commandant of Ting-hai, which exhibited their ungovernable obstinacy; and it is moreover known that they have already landed and surrounded the city, for the purpose of attacking it. Having looked over this report, we cannot restrain our deep indignation. This abhorred set of fellows have no design in this than to attempt their petty schemes, oppose our prohibitions, pervert our commands, and, as of old, seek to take advantage of the sedition they excite to prosecute their contraband trade; such employment as this is all they are capable of doing. If the before-mentioned officers had been on the watch and guarded the ports, and the naval and land forces had been strictly disciplined, how could the landing of more than three or four thousand men have happened? Thus, in a sudden emergency like this, the high civil and military officers are straightway filled with terror, and lose all their self-possession. The lax condition of the troops and officers of Chekeang can be known without inquiry. The imperial

will is sent down to take Woo and Chuh, and deliver them over to the proper tribunal for examination and punishment.

The city of Ting-hai, being in the outer waters, and surrounded by them, is in a critical situation; the said lieutenant-governor must increase the forces, disperse the vessels of war, and hasten to its rescue. Should the foreign vessels sail westward, they will, doubtless, furtively wait to attack important places, such as Ning-po and others, hoping to dispossess them, and establish themselves. Let the troops and officers be instructed to proceed to every station to maintain a strict guard, and not permit the foreign vagabonds to enter stealthily.

The imperial command is sent down by express, ordering Yu-pooyun to take troops, and hasten thence to attack and drive them out.

The time of his arrival is estimated; and let the said lieutenant-governor and his colleagues also, with the whole strength of their minds, deliberate upon a course of action which may in some degree atone for their former delinquencies; but if they are again remiss, their guilt will be greatly increased. Let these commands be dispatched by express. Respect this.

## No. 3.

On the 4th of October was received (at the office of the Hoppo in Canton) from the governor a communication, as follows:—On the 1st of October, (the 6th day of the 9th month,) I received a dispatch from the general council in these words: On the 17th September, (22nd day of the 8th month,) the following imperial edict was received.

Whereas the English, at the harbour of Teentsin, did first present a communication most manifestly civil and respectful, earnestly requesting an extension of favour, it seemed right to command Keshen pointedly and earnestly to instruct and order that they should not be allowed to create confusion

and disorder, but only permitted to proceed to Canton to sek entrance; so that if indeed they should exhibit sincerity, the said minister and his colleagues would certainly memorialize in their behalf, begging for favour.

Now, according to Keshen's memorial, the said foreigners have listened to, and received, his instructions and orders, and have already got under weigh and returned southward, having by memorial declared, that along the whole coast they will make no disturbance, provided they be not first fired on; but that if they are attacked, it will be hard to stay the hand from retaliation: also, that of the soldiers in Tang-hai one half shall early be withdrawn, &c.

These said foreigners have heretofore been so disorderly and troublesome, albeit in some way excited thereto, that they justly merit detestation, and ought to be sorely punished and exterminated.

Now it appears that the port of Tseuenchowfoo in Fuhkein, Chapo in Chekeang, and Paoushan and Tsungming in Keangsoo, have each, earlier or later, with their rumbling thunders, beat the foreign ships, greatly damping their ardour. And as these said foreigners have consented to come forward and beg for favour, it is not meet to inquire strictly into the past.

To-day our will has been sent down, appointing Keshen high commissioner, forthwith to proceed posthate to Canton, in order to examine and arrange the business; and on his arrival there, he will be able to arrange it safely. But, apprehensive lest the governors and lieutenant-governors along the coast may not be aware of the present state of affairs, this dispatch is therefore hastened five hundred le per day, to inform Elepoo, Sung Keyuen, Yukeen, Shaou Keaming, To Hwanpo, Tang Tingchin, Lin Tsihseu, and their colleagues, that they all yield obedience hereto; severally maintain the most important passes, faithfully and truly keeping up a defensive guard. Should any of the said

foreigners pass along or anchor upon the high seas, it is not necessary to open a cannonade; but it is of great moment to keep a guard and defence, and not be first to make an attack: when it is requisite, then arrange in stern and close array, (our troops); also it is especially needful that there be no remissness or relaxing.

A copy of Keshen's communication to the English, and their reply thereto given on the same day, are copied and sent herewith for Elepoo's inspection, to be forwarded by express. Let this be duly understood. Respect this.

No. 4.

On the 2nd day of the 9th moon, (27th September,) the following imperial commands were received.

Lin Tsihseu! you received my imperial orders to go to Canton, to examine into, and manage, the affairs relating to opium; from the exterior to cut off all trade in opium, and to terminate its many evils and disgraces; as to the interior, your orders were to seize perverse natives, and thus cut off all supplies to foreigners, (probably the English are more particularly pointed at). Why have you delayed so long in the matters connected with these small, petty, contemptible criminals, who are still ungratefully disobedient and unsubmissive?

You have not only proved yourself unable to cut off their trade, but you have also proved yourself unable to seize perverse natives! You have but dissembled with empty words, and in deep disguises in your report (to the emperor); and so far from having been of any help in the affair, you have caused the waves of confusion to arise, and a thousand interminable disorders are sprouting; in fact, you have been as if your arms were tied, without knowing what to do; it appears then you are no better than a wooden image. When I think to myself on all these things, I am filled at once

with anger and melancholy; we shall see in what instances you can answer to me.

I order that your official seals be immediately taken from you, and that you hasten with the speed of flames to Pekin, that I may examine you in my presence; delay you not. I order the Lieutenant-Governor E to take charge of the government of the two provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se. Respect this.

No. 5.

On the 6th of the 9th month, (28th September,) the imperial edict was received.

Formerly, because opium flowed like poison into China, Lin was specially appointed to hasten to the port of Canton, and to consult with Tang, to examine into and manage the affair; the (or my) original desire was to purify the inner land from its defilement, and to cut off the springs (whence opium flows); and that the affair should be managed according to the circumstances of place and time; but ever since the beginning of the management until now perverse natives have been offending against the laws inside, ye (Lin and Tang) have been unable to clear the land of them; while outwards the sources from whence it (opium) flows in abundance, are still not cut off! And—an affair of extreme importance—this year the English barbarian ships arrived, and have been cruizing off the coasts of the provinces of Fuhkien, Chekeang, Keang-soo, Shantung, Chihle, and Shingking, (or Leaou-tung in Tartary,) occasioning a multiplicity of affairs and defensive preparations, injurious to the revenue and toilsome to the army: all this proceeds from Lin and Tang's management, and the unskilful manner in which they have pursued their measures. Let Lin and Tang each be delivered over to the criminal board, to be punished with increased severity.

Lin, when he arrives in Pekin, is to wait for the deliberation of the board.

I direct Keshen to be the acting-governor of the two Kwang provinces; and, until his arrival, I order E, for the time being, to take charge of the government. This time the English barbarians have, at many places, presented petitionary cards (*i.e.*, open papers), containing explanatory and defensive statements against injury and bending oppression; I, the emperor, clearly understand all the circumstances, and, decidedly, it was not they (the English) who began the movement.

The said governors were especially appointed to meet and consult, and to control the conduct of the higher officers, but, after all, they have not been of any real help in the matter; on the contrary, they have at length produced an affair impeding the prosperity of the country and vitiating the people; nothing can exceed this in enormity; on this account they are to be subjected to increased punishment: moreover, it is not on account of the said barbarians' complaining petitions, that they are hurried to severe punishment. Respect this.—*Chinese Repository.*

## APPENDIX B.

The British bark Sunda was wrecked on the 12th of October, 1839, near the island Hainan. The survivors from the wreck were kindly treated and conveyed to Canton, where they had an interview with the Imperial High Commissioner Lin. The following is Dr. Hill's (one of the survivors) account of the interview.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 14th of December, 1839, we were requested by one of the linguists to proceed immediately to the consoo-house, as his highness the imperial commissioner intended honouring us with a visit that afternoon.

On reaching the head of old China-street we found a large concourse of people assembled in the neighbourhood of

the consoo-house, and numerous palaquins entering its interior, where several officers and most of the Hong merchants had already assembled. Several American gentlemen were likewise in attendance, anxious to get a sight of the great yumchae. After waiting, however, for nearly two hours, we were informed that his highness would not honour us with his presence that afternoon, but that in all probability we should be admitted to an audience on the following Monday.

On Saturday afternoon one of the linguists called, and said that the yumchae wished to see us within the city early on the following morning, whither he requested us to be in readiness to proceed by eight o'clock.

Accordingly, after partaking of an early breakfast, we went to the consoo-house, when we were told that the Hong merchants had already gone on before us. Without loss of time, therefore, we marshalled ourselves in pairs and marched towards the city, escorted by the linguists and a motley group of attendants.

Shortly after entering the city gates we found the streets lined on both sides with soldiers, presenting rather a formidable appearance. We were conducted to a large joss-house or temple dedicated to the Queen of Heaven, distant about three hundred yards from the gates, the outer court-yard of which was completely filled with palanquins and horses belonging to the mandarins and Hong merchants, already in attendance.

After waiting for about an hour we were told that the commissioner had gone to breakfast with the governor, immediately after which he would visit us. On this the linguists took the opportunity of redoubling their exertions in order to persuade us to bend the knee to his highness, which we still persisted in refusing, to their great mortification. They said, "This not all same one other day. To-day yumchae all same emperor, all that mandarin have come, all that Hong merchants, must crook foot litty."

About ten o'clock a considerable bustle was observed at

the outer gate of the temple, occasioned by the coming of the treasurer and one of the judges, at whose approach the Hong merchants and linguists simultaneously bent the knee. The tedium of waiting so long was somewhat relieved by the conversation of the linguists and their assistants, one of whom appeared a very intelligent young man, and had been in London for nearly eight years, along with the late Mr. Elphinstone. He spoke English remarkably well, much better, indeed, than any Chinese whom I have ever met with, and I regret much that he did not act as our interpreter with the yumchae, as Atung stammered so much, and was so flurried, that we had great difficulty in understanding him.

About the hour of eleven o'clock the firing of cannon, the beating of gongs, and shouting of a host of ragamuffin attendants, announced the approach of the yumchae, upon which the Hong merchants arranged themselves in a row upon one side, and the linguists with their assistants on the opposite, in readiness to receive him, while the mandarins proceeded to an inner apartment behind the temple. Our party at the same time inside the temple, where we conveniently obtained a peep at his highness without being observed. Four palanquins containing the commissioner, governor, lieutenant-governor, and Hoppo, now proceeded up the court-yard in the order mentioned. The commissioner first made his exit, upon which the Hong merchants, linguists, &c., prostrated themselves for a short time, his highness at the same time bowing most condescendingly. The same ceremony was repeated towards the others in succession, differing only in the length of time during which they remained on their knees, in the latter cases being only for an instant.

In about ten minutes we were informed that his highness was ready to receive us, when we were conducted to the hall of audience, situated behind and to the left of the temple, though forming part of the same range of buildings; it consists of a large quadrangular room, having a small recess at its

upper part, in which were placed two tables covered with books, papers, &c. Several mirrors and a few paintings were arranged round the walls, and from the roof two crystal chandeliers were suspended; at the sides were two tables and a few chairs, and the floor was covered with an English carpet. The yumchae was seated at the upper part of the room, having the governor and the hoppo seated on his right, and the lieutenant-governor on his left. The treasurer sat on the right side of the room, and one of the judges on the left. In person the yumchae is rather stout and short, and apparently about forty-five years of age; his countenance has rather a pleasant expression, with a small, dark, and piercing eye, and a fine intelligent forehead. His voice is strong, clear, and sonorous; he was very plainly dressed, while the other dignitaries were invested with all their insignia of office.

On being conducted into his presence we uncovered and made a polite bow, which he returned, and immediately after commenced the conversation. He began by stating his regret at our melancholy shipwreck, and hoped that we had been treated kindly by the different mandarins on our journey to Canton. He then asked when we left England? And whether any account of the disturbances in China had reached England previous to our departure? When and where did we first hear of them? How many days' sail is Angier from China? Whether it is usual for vessels to call there on their way to China? What was the nature and value of our cargo? And whether the vessel had been to China before? He then said that he was very sorry on account of the differences which at present existed between England and China. That for the last two hundred years the Chinese and English had been on the most friendly terms, during which time everything had gone on smoothly, for the interest of both. He regretted that these happy days had fled, and would rejoice to see them back again. The English had caused these disturbances by deluging the country with opium, the importa-

tion of which they knew to be strictly prohibited by the Chinese law.

He then dwelt at considerable length on the injurious effects of the use of opium on the system, and the iniquity of our introducing it into China being doubly aggravated, from our knowledge of the severe penalty inflicted upon those found making use of it, or in any way engaged in its traffic. He then mentioned the dreadful extent to which it had increased of late years, and the determination of his sovereign to put a stop to it. That he had been sent down by the emperor for that purpose, and he was firmly resolved not to return until he had effectually done so. (Here he became very animated.) He was well aware, he said, of the handsome profits made by us upon other articles of merchandize, and why should we not be content with these, but introduce a poisonous drug? He would appeal to our own hearts, if it was not a monstrous crime to engage in the opium trade? He was certain that the gods could not approve of it, and that the conscience of any one engaged in it would never allow him to be at peace on this earth. He then instanced the melancholy fate of Mr. M——, and said that other similar cases were not uncommon.

In order to show us the iniquity of the opium trade, and its increase during the last few years, he handed us Mr. Thelwall's pamphlet, and a work upon China, from which the title page was torn, (Davis's, I think,) a few extracts from which he requested us to read. Several portions of both works were translated into Chinese, and pasted on the corresponding pages. He also had five or six East India Company's cards, showing the quantity of opium sold during the season. One of them which he handed us was marked Patna opium, 12,016 (?) chests. March, 1839, and signed Trotter.

He next adverted to the murder of his countryman, Lin-Weihe, and expressed his great dissatisfaction at the mur-

derer's not having been delivered up. He could not conceive how we were unable to find out the murderer, especially as we knew five men who were engaged in the affray; and one of whom, he said, ought in justice to be delivered up to atone for the murder. He next alluded to Captain Warner's having come up to Whampoa in the Thomas Coutts, and asked why others had not done so. His own impression was that Captain Elliot was afraid of the officers and crews being beheaded, and the property confiscated, which we would perceive was entirely groundless, as we were then completely in his power, and he had not the slightest wish to do us any injury, but, on the contrary, had the greatest compassion for us, and wished to deliver us in safety to our countrymen. He would like to see all our vessels at Whampoa, but they could not now be permitted to go up, even although they signed the bond, until he received further orders from Pekin. He had not the slightest enmity towards the English, but only towards those of them engaged in the opium trade. No distinction would be made between them and the Chinese, if caught with it in their possession. Hitherto, we had been dealt leniently with, but now no mercy would be given, as he was determined to put a stop to it at all hazards. He then alluded to Captain Elliot's conduct, with which he was by no means pleased. "At Macao," he said, "Captain Elliot very proper man, at Canton no proper."

He then asked if we had heard any reports in Canton as to the state of his health; as he had been informed that in Toong-koo it was currently reported that he was in a very bad state of health, and not likely to survive many days; upon which he laughed most immoderately, and asked what we thought of the state of his health? When we congratulated him upon his robust appearance, with which he was highly delighted. He then handed us a letter addressed to the queen of England, written in their usual high-flowing strain, at which I could scarcely command my gravity; which, he

observing, immediately asked if it was all proper? We said that it was only a few mistakes at which we smiled; whereupon he requested us to take it into an adjoining room, and correct any errors we might find in it, and whither tea and refreshments would be sent us. The letter was a pretty long one, and written in a fair legible hand, with a hair pencil. The subject of it was principally a lengthened disquisition on the opium trade, and its evil effects, and a hope that her Britannic majesty would interfere and assist in putting a stop to it. Some parts of it we could make neither head nor tail of.

During the time we were engaged in the perusal of the letter, the crew got a blow-out of roast pig, &c., with four of which we were presented on our departure. On our return to the hall of audience, we found the yumchae and the other dignitaries seated round a circular table, having divested themselves of most of their insignia of office. They were amusing themselves with one of our boys, (who was likewise a good deal taken notice of by several of the mandarins on our journey,) and asking him a number of questions, such as the following: his name, age, were his father and mother alive, was he fond of the sea? &c. They likewise made him read a page or two of English, at which they were highly pleased.

He then asked the names of the places from whence the different kinds of opium were brought, and requested me to write them down for him, which I did. On mentioning Turkey, he asked if it did not belong to America, or form part of it? and seemed a good deal astonished on being told that it was nearly a month's sail distant. During the rest of the time he remained standing, as also did the viceroy, &c.; and conversing with us with the greatest familiarity, and laughing and joking with his friends about the different parts of the English costume, which he minutely examined. He seemed highly amused with our chief officer, and desired his

secretary to show him round, first in one direction and then in another, in order to get a proper view of him, when he put on his spectacles, and "hey-yaued" at a great rate.

He lastly informed us that boats were in readiness to convey us to our countrymen at Toong-koo, to whom he hoped we would give a favourable report of him, which we promised to do; he then "Chin chinned" us, and bade us good-bye. —*Chinese Repository*.

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## APPENDIX C.

*Proclamation, by Charles Elliot, Esq., a captain in the Royal Navy, chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China, and holding full powers, under the great seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to execute the office of Her Majesty's commissioner, procurator, and plenipotentiary in China.*

The island of Hong Kong having been ceded to the British crown, under the seal of the imperial minister and high commissioner Keshen, it has become necessary to provide for the government thereof, pending her majesty's further pleasure.

By virtue of the authority, therefore, in me vested, all her majesty's rights, royalties, privileges of all kinds whatever in and over the said island of Hong Kong, whether to or over lands, harbours, property, or personal service, are hereby declared, proclaimed, and to her majesty fully reserved.

And I do hereby declare and proclaim, that, pending her majesty's further pleasure, the government of the said island shall devolve upon, and be exercised by, the person filling the office of chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China for the time being.

And I do hereby declare and proclaim, that, pending her majesty's further pleasure, the natives of the island of Hong Kong, and all natives of China thereto resorting, shall be governed according to the laws and customs of China, every description of torture excepted.

And I do further declare and proclaim that, pending her majesty's further pleasure, all offences committed in Hong Kong by her majesty's subjects, or other persons than natives of the island or of China thereto resorting, shall fall under the cognizance of the criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, presently existing in China.

And I do further declare and proclaim, that, pending her majesty's further pleasure, such rules and regulations as may be necessary from time to time for the government of Hong Kong, shall be issued under the hand and seal of the person filling the office of chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China for the time being.

And I do further declare and proclaim, that, pending her majesty's further pleasure, all British subjects and foreigners residing in, or resorting to, the island of Hong Kong, shall enjoy full security and protection, according to the principles and practice of British law, so long as they shall continue to conform to the authority of her majesty's government in and over the island of Hong Kong, hereby duly constituted and proclaimed.

Given under my hand and seal of office on board of her majesty's ship Wellesley, at anchor in Hong Kong Bay, this twenty-ninth day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-one.

God save the Queen.

*Canton Register.* (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT.

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# APPENDIX D.

Bremer, commander-in-chief, and Elliot, plenipotentiary, &c., &c., by this proclamation make known to the inhabitants of the island of Hong Kong, that that island has now become part of the dominions of the Queen of England by clear public agreement between the high officers of the Celestial and British courts: and all native persons residing therein must understand that they are now subjects of the Queen of England, to whom and to whose officers they must pay duty and obedience.

The inhabitants are hereby promised protection in her majesty's gracious name, against all enemies whatever; and they are further secured in the free exercise of their religious rites, ceremonies, and social customs, and in the enjoyment of their lawful private property and interests. They will be governed, pending her majesty's further pleasure, according to the laws, customs, and usages of the Chinese (every description of torture excepted), by the elders of villages, subject to the control of a British magistrate; and any person having complaint to prefer of ill usage or injustice against any Englishman or foreigner, will quietly make report to the nearest officer, to the end that full justice may be done.

Chinese ships and merchants resorting to the port of Hong Kong for purposes of trade, are hereby exempted, in the name of the Queen of England, from charge or duty of any kind to the British government.

The pleasure of the government will be declared from time to time by further proclamation; and all heads of villages are held responsible that the commands are duly respected and observed.

Given under seal of office this 1st day of February, 1841. —*Canton Register.*

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## APPENDIX E.

*Keshen's Memorials to the Emperor, with the Imperial replies.*

Memorial from your majesty's slave, Keshen, with reference to the English foreigners, not waiting for replies, but straightway attacking the forts of Shakok and Taikok; even now, while the contest yet rests undecided, is this report sent with all speed, by an express travelling diligently more than five hundred le daily, in order to be humbly submitted to your majesty's sacred perusal.

After your slave had this morning despatched his respectful report, regarding the communication he had prepared to send in answer to the English foreigners, and regarding the actual warlike display of banners, a dispatch was received by express, at a late period of the day, from your minister, Kwan Teenpei, the commander-in-chief of the naval forces. I reported, that all the vessels of the English foreigners had weighed anchor during the morning of the 7th, and in distinct squadrons had proceeded to attack the forts of Shakok and Taikok, outside the Bocca Tigris; that the fire of the guns was kept up incessantly, and the contest sustained all around from 8 A.M. till 2 P.M., during which the foreign vessels had fired above ten (rounds of) cannon; that our forces, with all their strength and energy, responded to the attack till about 2 P.M., when from a distance some of the foreigners were seen to have fallen into the water; that, as it happened, the tide began to ebb, and the foreign vessels ceased firing, and are now anchored in the middle of the stream, between Shakok and Taikok, each side maintaining its ground: that, probably, with the making of the flood the next morning, the contest would recommence; and, further, that there were four steam-vessels, which fell upon the war junks, but finding the attack responded to by our vessels, drew off again without having decided the combat on either side.

Your slave, since his arrival at Canton, has in repeated instances exchanged communications with the English foreigners, and has at all times given them admonitory commands with mildness; and as regards the several things solicited by them, though he has not been able completely to satisfy their rapacious cravings, still he has with a liberal hand granted a measure of what they desired. Yet these foreigners, on the present occasion, having upon the 6th sent in a foreign letter hastily, on the morning of the 7th, without waiting for a reply, proceeded straightway to attack the forts —to such a degree has their presumptuous overbearing and unruly violence been carried! Some, giving their advice on this matter, express it as their opinion that if the whole defensive and preventive guard be firmly maintained, that will suffice in time to weary them out. Or, it is said, if they only be granted commercial intercourse, a restraining cordon may then be kept around what they have.

Whether or not these schemes are worthy of confidence, your sacred majesty's wisdom and thorough knowledge will determine, and to escape it would be impossible.

These foreigners, now, having dared to commence this attack, and having begun troubling and disturbing, the present quarrel is then of their own creation; in their behalf nothing can be said; and as they would not wait for the communication prepared for them, there would be no propriety in now sending it to them.

The fort of Shakok stood solitary, cut off from the sea, and it is to be observed, that before this collision, from apprehension that it was insufficiently protected, two hundred men of the lieutenant-governor's brigade had been sent to occupy the important entrance into Tungkwan district, and two hundred of the personal brigade of the commander-in-chief, had been sent to defend such places as should need increased protection.

The fortified point of Taikok nearly adjoins the range of

land called Nansha (the southern sands), and it is to be apprehended lest the said foreigners, making a circuit behind the hills, should make their way inwards. Having sent an express to your majesty's minister, Kwan, the commander-in-chief, to inquire of him what points will require the addition of forces, he has himself personally examined those positions near to that place, where it will be suitable to post military guards, and having reported the same, he has received instructions accordingly to post forces thereat. At the same time directions have been given to prepare, with all celerity, large quantities of gunpowder, iron ball, and so forth, sufficient, it is hoped, for many months' use, in order thus to facilitate the defence of the various places.

The Bocca Tigris is the post of which the commander-in-chief retains the defence. To co-operate with and aid him in its defence, your slave has sent Le, general of the Chaouchow division, who will be able to give him efficient counsel and assistance.

A detachment of naval forces has also been posted on shore at Woochung Kow, distant about sixty le from the city of Canton; the river has been filled up by sinking stones; and rafts of spars have been so placed as to prevent any passage beyond. These arrangements were all on the 27th of December successively reported complete, under the superintendence of the *chunghee*, Keshow, and the *foosze*, Cho Szeleang.

At Canton itself, adjoining the walls of the city, are the houses of the people, rendering it a matter of difficulty to fire from thence. But, at the same time, the river flows all round, leaving no place for the encampment of troops. There are found, however, on the wall itself, forts of old standing, for the better defence of which the garrisons have been increased, and to such as have flats adjoining them, encamped forces have also been attached, to aid in the defence of each place.

With regard to the provinces of Fuhkeen and Chekeang, your slave, as early as the first decade of last month (the close of November), having carefully inquired into the actual and daily more pressing condition of things with all the said foreigners, felt reason to apprehend that they might go to other ports and inlets; and, therefore, communications were immediately sent to your majesty's minister, Woo Wanyung, governor of Fuhkeen and Chekeang, and to the high commissioner in Chekeang, Elepoo, to afford them every information; and they were moved to transmit the same information to the adjoining government of Keangsoo, that there also all requisite observation and defence might be maintained.

The distance being, however, considerable, and the regulation of the governmental posts being rather lax, it is uncertain whether the dispatches then sent will have yet arrived, and whether the information has been communicated to the various provinces along the coast.

Whether or not our forces have suffered in this conflict, and to what extent wounds may have been inflicted, shall be reported with all haste as soon as ascertained. And of the state of things henceforward, full reports shall be transmitted from time to time. The memorial is now first sent by an express, travelling with diligence to exceed the rate of five hundred le daily, in order to convey intelligence of the circumstances attending the attack made by these foreigners, without waiting for replies, and of the collision which in consequence took place.

The memorial is respectfully submitted, imploring the august sovereign to cast on it his sacred glance. January 8th, 1841.

*Imperial Edict, issued on the 5th day of the first month, (January 27, 1841).*

A report has been received from Keshen, setting forth the circumstances of an attack on, and capture of, certain forts by the English foreigners.

These rebellious foreigners, from the time of their return to Canton, have been daily increasing in disorderliness and insubordination. And we have therefore issued repeated and strict commands to all the provinces, that the most attentive and well ordered guard of prevention should be maintained; and that fit occasion should be taken to proceed against them for destruction: With what care, then, did it become all the high officers, civil and military, of the provinces to have arranged their defences! But to-day the report is received from Keshen, that where he is, the port of Shakok, has been attacked and taken by the rebellious foreigners, and that of Taikok has also been destroyed; and withal that the soldiery of the government have fallen, dead and wounded, and the naval vessels have been carried off and plundered.

It is plain from this, that the said acting governor and his fellow officers have in no way taken the needful preparative arrangements for prevention and defence.

Let the proper board take into its severest consideration the conduct of Keshen. At the same time let him have direction of the forces sent from all parts, and exert his utmost efforts to drive off or destroy these foreigners, speedily reporting an entire victory. Kwan Teenpei, though filling the post of commander-in-chief, and having under his control the whole naval force, has shown himself at all times devoid of talent to direct, and, on the approach of a crisis, perturbed, alarmed, and resourceless.

Let his button and insignia of rank be at once taken from him,—but let him, at the same time, bearing his offences, labour to attain merit, and show forth his after-endeavours.

The said acting governor and his colleagues will make clear inquiry and full report as to all the officers, subalterns, and soldiers, wounded or slain. Respect this.

On the same 27th day of January, this further imperial edict was issued:—

An express from Keshen reports that the rebellious foreigners have attacked and destroyed certain forts. In consequence of the daily increasing disorderliness and insubordination of these rebellious foreigners, our commands were therefore repeatedly issued, declaring it as our pleasure, that secure preparative arrangements should be made, and fit occasion taken to proceed to their destruction, considering that they have coveted Canton, and that not merely for a day.

The said high commissioner, sustaining a most weighty trust, and knowing, as he did, that the temper of these foreigners is proud and overbearing, seeing also that the military condition of the province where he is has fallen into decay for this long time past, should have begun with defensive precautions, with the view of being prepared to avert any disaster. Yet is this report now received from him, that the rebellious foreigners have seized upon the fort of Shakok and further attacked that of Taikok. From the fact that when these foreigners, on the 7th of January, let loose their passions, and began firing upon these two forts, they were at once able to destroy them, it is to be seen, that no preparations whatever could have been made in that province: such neglect calls forth bitter indignation. Our commands have therefore been plainly declared, that Keshen and Kwan Teenpei be, the last deprived of his button and other insignia of rank, and the former subjected to the severest consideration of his conduct.

The rebellious dispositions of these foreigners being now plainly manifested, there remains no other course than, without remorse, to destroy and wash them clean away, and thus to display the majesty of the empire. What room can there yet be left for showing them consideration and exhibiting to them reason! Expresses have consequently been sent to Hoonau, Szechuen, and Kweichon, to direct that forces be sent from each of those provinces, with all speed, to Canton:

and to Keangse an express has also been sent, directing that the two thousand men before ordered from thence shall proceed with all haste to join these. All the folces of the province of Kwangtung itself shall be under the control and direction of the said acting governor: and the posture of affairs being at this time urgent and pressing, let him at once proceed to occupy each several post and passage of impoftance; let him not suffer the least remissness or negligence to appear. The forces ordered from various parts may all successively reach Canton within the second month (beginning 21st February), and let him then proceed immediately to take command of all the officers and subalterns, and lead them on to the extermination of these foreigners, thus hoping to atone for and save himself.

Regarding the forts of Kwang-tung, it was before represented by Tang and his then colleagues, that they were protected by rafts and chains thrown across so as to stop the progress of the foreign vessels. Let Keshen, then, ascertain and duly report, whether or not these places now taken, Shakok and Taikok, are the same places (as those where the rafts were thrown across). That these commands may be made known, let them be sent by an express travelling six hundred le daily. Respect this.

Upon the same day this further imperial edict was received:—

Our ruling dynasty has kept in good order and discipline the exterior foreigners, wholly by the perfect exercise of good favour and of justice. So long as those foreigners have been truly compliant and dutiful, they have unfailingly been treated with generous liberality, in the hope that all might rejoice together in the blessing of peace.

Some time back, owing to the daily increasing prevalence of the poisonous opium, introduced by western foreigners, commands were issued to make vigorous endeavours to arrest

the growing contumacy. But the English alone, staying themselves upon their pride of power and fierce strength, would not give the required bonds; and for this it was commanded, that they should be cut off from commercial intercourse. But, in place of repenting themselves, they daily increased in boastful arrogance: and suddenly, in the sixth month of the last year, they went so far as to invade with several tens of vessels, the district of Ting-hai, seizing and occupying its chief town. And they further came and went, as they would, along the coast of the several provinces of Fuhkien, Chekeang, Keangsoo, Shantung, Chihle, and Monkden, causing disturbance and trouble in many ways. The violence, presumption, and disobedience of the rebellious foreigners having reached such a degree, it would have been no hard thing to array our forces and to exterminate and cut them off utterly. But, considering that these foreigners had presented letters, complaining of what they called grievances and oppressions, it was deemed unsuitable to refuse to make investigations for them, and thus to fail of displaying the perfect justice of our rule. Hence special commands were given to our minister, Keshen, to proceed with speed to Canton, and to examine and act according to the facts. Had these foreigners possessed a spark of heaven-bestowed goodness, they would assuredly all have returned to Canton to await the arrangement of matters. But a half only weighed their anchors and proceeded southward, while a half still remained at Ting-hai, thus exhibiting the craft and slipperiness of their dispositions, too clearly to need pointing out. And we have recently received intelligence, that at Ting-hai, during these months past, they have debauched and ravished women, plundered and carried off property, erected fortifications and opened out canals, even setting up a mock officer, to issue proclamations demanding of the people payment of the revenue. What evil have our people done, to be subjugated to this bane and hurt? To

speak, or to think, therefore, removes even from sleep and from food their enjoyment. After the arrival of Keshen at Canton, when he proceeded plainly to admonish and point out the right course, they still continued insatiable in their covetous desires. Having first thought to extort the cost of the opium, they further requested that places of trade should be given them.

We had anticipated finding them changeable and inconstant, and had estimated them as persons not to be influenced by truth and justice: we had therefore made provision last year, for the selection of veteran troops of the provinces of Szechuen, Hoonan, and Keangse, to be ordered for service in Kwang-tung; and we had also ordered forces from Hoonan, Hoopih, and Nganhway, to proceed to Chekeang, as a precaution against attack: and now the report received by express from Keshen is, that on the 15th day of the 12th month of the last year, (7th January, 1841,) these foreigners, in combination with Chinese traitors, proceeded on board many vessels, directly for the offing of the Bocca Tigris: and that having opened the thunder of their fire, they inflicted wounds upon our officers and soldiers, and also destroyed the fort of Taikok, and possessed themselves of that of Shakok. Thus rebellious have they been against heaven, opposers of reason, one in spirit with the brute beasts, beings that the overshadowing vault and all-containing earth can hardly suffer to live, obnoxious to the wrathful indignation alike of angels and of men. There can only remain one course, to destroy and wipe them clean away, to exterminate and root them out, without remorse. Then shall we manifestly discharge our heaven-conferred trusts, and show our regard for the lives of our people.

The various forces that have been ordered for service must now speedily reach their posts. Let Elepoo instantly advance with the forces under him, and recover Ting-hai, that he may revive its people from their troubles; and let Keshen,

on his part, stir up the soldiery, and with energy and courage proceed right on, making it his determined aim to compel these rebellious foreigners to give up their ringleaders, that they may be sent encaged to Pekin, to receive the utmost retribution of the laws. The base and vile fellows among these foreigners, and the Chinese traitors who abet their rebellious practices, are yet more to be sought after. Measures must be devised for seizing them, nor must proceedings cease till they be utterly slain.

Regarding the coasts of all the maritime provinces, it has repeatedly been declared to be our pleasure, that strict and well-arranged measures of precaution be everywhere taken. Let all the authorities,—generals, governors, lieutenant-governors,—with increased diligence maintain a constant place of observation, and, as soon as they come, attack them; and let them also proclaim it to all, whether officers or people, that it becomes them to regard these foreigners with a hostile spirit, to cherish towards them the asperity of personal enemies. Speedily report perfect victory, and all shall enjoy rewards from their sovereign. That it will be so, we indeed cherish strong hopes.

Be these commands made known universally. Respect this.

*Keshen's Defence of his conduct, with the Imperial reply.*

The slave Keshen, a high minister of state, and acting governor of the two Kwang provinces, kneeling, presents before the throne of the great emperor a statement, relating how that the English foreigners have sent a messenger to Chekeang (to restore Ting-hai), how that they have already restored us the forts of Shakok and Tajkok, and the cruising vessels and salt junks which they had previously captured, all of which have been duly received, and how that the ships of war of the said foreigners have already retired to the outer ocean; the said slave respectfully takes all these cir-

cumstances, and along with his most attentive observations on the military position of the country, the material of war, and the disposition of the people, offers them up, begging that a sacred glance may be bestowed upon the same.

Whereas your slave, with a view to the defence of the country and protection of the people, previously to the receipt of your majesty's commands, foolishly and confusedly begged for a display of imperial clemency in favour of the English foreigners;—at the same time (seeing that such was opposed to your majesty's wishes), your slave repeatedly begged that his crime might be visited with the heaviest punishment, as is duly recorded.

On the 28th day of the 12th moon of last year (20th January, 1841), I received a dispatch from the privy council, to the following effect:—"We have received the following imperial edict. Whereas Keshen has reported to us the measures he has taken in reference to the circumstances of the English foreigners, that as those rebellious foreigners are without reason, and refuse to listen to our commands, a dreadful example of severity ought immediately to be made in their regard.

"Already has a flying dispatch been sent to the different provinces of Hoonan, Szechuen, and Kweichow, that four thousand soldiers be immediately got ready, and sent with all haste to Canton, there to await orders; cause, therefore, that Keshen, in concert with Lin Tsihseu and Tang Tingching, take the necessary steps for settling this business. If the rebellious foreigners dare to approach our inner shores, let them be immediately exterminated."

And successively, on the 4th day of the present moon (26th January, 1841), I received the following imperial edict from the court direct.

"Whereas Keshen has addressed to me a document in reference to the present circumstances of the English foreigners, which, on glancing over, we completely under-

stood, cause that our previous edict be put in effect, with implicit submission; let our military force be plentifully assembled together, and a complete display of heavenly majesty made (in the utter extirpation of the rebels). As far as regards the expense necessary for these military operations, no matter whether it be the duties arising from foreign commerce, or the land tax, you are hereby permitted to consult as to ways and means, and make true account of the expenditure of such revenues. Should there not be sufficient, you can report the same to me, and wait our further orders, &c., &c. Respect this."

Your slave, while kneeling and hearing these commands read, reflected that though he had conditionally granted the several items (of the foreigners' demands), yet he but barely promised to make a representation of them to your majesty in their behalf. Thus in reference to one article; viz., the opening of the trade, although it appears that they (the foreigners) had requested that this might take place during the first decade of the present moon (23rd of January till the 1st of February), yet up to now I have not dared to permit it; and they have already sent me in a foreign letter, in which they restore us the forts of Shakok and Taikok, and every one of the cruizing vessels and salt junks which they had previously captured; and still further, they at one and the same time dispatched a foreign officer by sea to Chekeang, to order the withdrawal of the foreign troops, and wrote a foreign document, which they handed up to me, and which your slave transmitted to Elepoo, by an express of six hundred le a-day, in order that he might receive back Tinghai, which conduct on their part looked more mild and submissive than had previously been the case.

But your slave is a man of confused and dull understanding. What he has done has, unhappily, not met the view of his sacred majesty;—fearing and trembling as I am, how shall I find words to give expression to my feelings!

Humbly remembering that your slave's person has received marks of imperial goodness, his conscience is not hardened! How should I dare, while engaged on this important duty of curbing these outside foreigners, and struggling amid danger and difficulty, to strive after forbidden repose! From the moment that I came down to Canton have I been the victim of the craft and wiles of these presuming foreigners. In every instance are they quite ungovernable, until that my head aches, and my heart is rent, and my morning meal comes to me without relish! Thus, for example, on one occasion we gave the foreigners battle, but our men showed little firmness;—we then requested that a manifestation of divine majesty might be made in their annihilation. But alas! the circumstances of the case and the wishes of my heart are sadly opposed! All these facts have I offered up to your majesty in repeated statements, praying that your majesty would bestow thereon a holy glance.

Now it appears, that after these said foreigners had sent a person to Chekeang to deliver up Ting-hai, and restored all that they had captured in Kwang-tung, and withdrawn their ships of war to the outer ocean, Elliot requested a personal interview with me; and as your slave had not then in person inspected the Bocca Tigris, and as the troops ordered from the several provinces had not yet arrived, it did not seem prudent to show any symptoms (of dislike to his proposal), which would have given rise to suspicion on his part, and thus prematurely brought on a collision; so your slave took advantage of the opportunity to visit and inspect the Bocca Tigris; and on the 3rd day (25th January, 1841) left the city, and embarking on shipboard, approached Szeyang (lion's ocean), on the Canton River, whither Elliot soon came in a wheeled fire-ship, and begged for an interview. He scarcely brought several tens of persons in his train; and on that day his language and demeanour were exceedingly respectful. But he handed up to me a rough draught of

several regulations which he had planned, the most of which regarded the troublesome minutiæ of commerce; and at the same time he agreed that afterwards, in relation to the bringing of opium, the leaking out of sycee, or smuggling, he was quite willing that ship and cargo should be confiscated. But among (the articles he proposed) there were some items quite impossible to be granted. Your slave at the time pointed them out, and rebuked him, when the foreigner immediately begged that they might be discussed and amended. I consented that he might alter them; but (told him) he must wait till they had been maturely canvassed and handed up to your majesty for examination (and approval).

Your slave, after having parted with Elliot, found that the Sze-tse-yang (second bar) is distant from the Bocca Tigris about sixty le; but even there the sea is vast, the billows boiling, and the wind fierce. Suddenly we came on the outer ocean in all its majesty!—no inland river can in any measure be compared to it! Your slave immediately changed his boat for a vessel capable of navigating the high seas; and having arrived at the Bocca Tigris, made a most careful inspection of all the forts round about. If they may not be said to be utterly isolated on the four sides, and rising up alone in the midst of the ocean, yet are they situated beyond the extremity of our hills, and quite approachable from the sea; supposing them to be surrounded and blockaded, even so much as provisions for the troops it would be found difficult to introduce. Your slave then proceeded to measure the depth of the water, beginning at the Bocca Tigris, and sounding till he came to Canton; and found it at high-water to be from one chang (two fathoms) and upwards, to three and four changs, varying continually. Now we all know that the principal cause of these forts being erected, was as a barrier to merchant ships which draw more water, and which, in time of peace, when they submit to constraint, dare not to pass the bounds, or to go round abouts; but if they were to

bring troops, with intention to rebel, they may sneak in clandestinely through every hole and corner, there is no necessity for their passing before the forts, and thus may they proceed straight up to the provincial city itself. Moreover, after having passed the Bocca Tigris, though we may add obstruction to obstruction, yet such is the nature of the country, that there is no important point by which we may hold it.

In reference to the guns mounted on these said forts, their whole number hardly exceeds two hundred, barely adequate to defend their fronts, while their sides are left quite unprotected. Moreover, among their number, those which may be used at a moment's notice are not many; for in point of endurance, as well as make, they are alike defective. The bodies of the guns are immensely large, but the bore is very small, and the sea in those parts is extremely wide, so that they scarce carry to the middle: thus, as regards their number, they are fewer than those mounted on the foreign ships; and, if we speak of their power, they are not equal to those which the foreign ships carry. Moreover, the embrasures on the forts are as wide as doors, almost large enough to allow people to creep out and in by. If we had to sustain a broadside they would offer no protection to our people; and may be said, in a word, to be wholly without strength. Just now we are making inquiries after a cannon-founder, to see if he can cast guns upon an improved model, when we shall have such cast; but if we can in very deed get them cast according to this plan, that will only do as a preventive against the future, and not at all be in time for the present emergency; thus there is nothing good in our military weapons, that we may place reliance on them.

Again, in reference to the strength of our soldiers, I find that the keeping off of foreigners must be done by sea-fights; and to fight well at sea we must have good marine troops. I have now to feel grateful to your majesty for specially sending land troops from the different provinces. This shows the

great and sacred anxiety your majesty feels in the matter. But then these troops must go on board our sea-going ships before that they can give battle to the foreigners; and if they were not firm, or if they were not accustomed to the winds and waves, it might entail on us the calamities of a defeat. Now they are not accustomed to go on board ships, and handle them, so that we cannot but use marine soldiers. The marine troops of Canton province are drawn by invitation from the sea-side, and their quality is irregular and uncertain. I had previously heard a rumour, that on the 15th day of the 12th moon (7th January, 1841), after the battle the whole of these soldiers went to the Te-tuh, or general, and under false pretences extorted money from him, otherwise they threatened to disband. And lately I went to the said Te-tuh, and asked him face to face concerning it, when he said that it was quite true; and that he (the Te-tuh) having no remedy was obliged to pawn his clothes and things, by which means he was enabled to give a bonus of a couple of dollars to each of his Canton soldiers, and thus got them to remain at their posts until now. If, then, the disposition of these soldiers as it is, is greatly to be lamented, supposing at the most critical moment, when we had actually joined battle, these marine forces were to be found weak, and without energy, it might lead to the most fatal consequences! And although we might have veteran troops among them, yet there would be no means of inspiring them with a portion of their skill and steadiness. Moreover, our war ships are neither large nor strong; they are not capable of sustaining large guns, so that they are unable to repulse the foreigners. And these are the remarks I have to offer on the weakness of the soldiery.

I have also found, by careful examination, that the characteristics of the people of the Canton province are falsehood, ingratitude, and greediness; putting out of the question those who are already actual traitors, and whom there is no

occasion to speak about. The rest have all been born, and dwell, in the same place, mixed up with the foreigners; they are constantly accustomed to see them, and for many years have been as intimate with them as very brothers; they are not at all like the people of Ting-hai, who having never been accustomed to hold intercourse with foreigners, immediately discovered them to be a distinct species. But if we suppose that what they did *there* they had done *here*, if these said foreigners had deceitfully distributed their paltry presents, and set the machinery of their tricks to work, I really fear that the whole people (of the province) would have been reduced by them; they would certainly not have shown the unbending firmness of the Ting-hai people. Such are the observations I have got to offer on the flexible dispositions of the Canton people, which circumstance gives us still more cause for anxiety!

On looking over the records of the past, I find, in reference to the putting down of the ladrones, that these were but so many thieves and robbers; the ships they were embarked in were native ships, and the guns they made use of were native cast guns; and yet this affair was spun out for many years, and only put an end to by inviting them to surrender, under promise of pardon; and under the present circumstances it is to be feared that the wasp's sting is much more deadly!

Your slave has again and again resolved the matter in his anxious mind! In so far as it regards his *own person* it is unworthy of notice; but the consequences touching the vital interests of the country and the lives of the people involved in it, are vast and extending to posterity! But, alas! your slave has sinned in giving battle, when he could not command destiny to give him victory; and he has no less sinned in being unable to settle matters in unison with your sacred majesty's wishes; both of these are crimes which effect his poor life: but what is there in this worthy of pity or consideration! Still your slave, though he has sinned in

not being able to settle matters in unison with your sacred majesty's wishes, yet the territory and people of Canton still exist, and look up to your most sacred majesty for his gracious support and protection; while your slave, in having sinned in giving battle when Fate denied him the victory, has soiled the glory of his master, and poured out the lives of his people, and still more left himself without a sensible plan to put in operation. Therefore it is that after having duly consulted with the Tartar general of the garrison and his adjutants, the lieutenant-governor, the literary chancellor, the judge and treasurer, the intendants of circuit, the chief magistrates of larger and lesser districts, and the ex-governors, Lin Tsihseu and Tang Tingching, &c., we have unanimously come to the conclusion, that our defences are not to be relied upon, and that in the tug of battle our troops will not stand their ground. Moveover, in regard to the troops which have been ordered by your majesty from the different provinces, time is still necessary for that object; nor can they all arrive at once, and the assembling of a large body of troops is not a thing that can be done quietly; the native traitors are sure to give timely notice of it, and the foreigners would, in the first instance, give loose to their madness and extravagance.

Your slave is vexed to death thinking of these things, even till he loathes his food, and till sleep has forsaken his eyelids; forasmuch, he does not shrink from the heavy guilt he is incurring in taking all these facts, the result of his diligent inquiries, and annoying with them the ears of heaven's son; and at the same time he takes everything connected with the foreigners, and all the foreigners' letters, and hands them up for imperial inspection. He humbly hopes that the Holy One will look down with pity and compassion on the black-haired race, and shower upon them an extra measure of clemency, in granting what is therein requested, so that the people of the land may not be turned

to ashes. In times of difficulty is seen good government; victory is but a transient thing: in restraining the ruin that is before our eyes, we ought carefully to eradicate the cause of it for after ages!

In reference to all the circumstances contained in this, whether the result of my conference with the high provincial officers, or of my own diligent investigation, I only hope that your sacred majesty will condescend to inquire regarding them; and I beg that your majesty will specially appoint a high officer to come here to ascertain their truth. Your slave has been actuated by a desire to save the country and the people from first to last, and not swayed by the smallest atom of fear; and still more he dare not make use of the least glossing or deception.

Inasmuch, therefore, this respectful memorial is forwarded at the rate of six hundred le a day, humbly hoping that the emperor's holy glance may be bestowed thereon. A respectful memorial.

*The Emperor's reply to the foregoing.*

On the 25th day of the 1st moon of the 21st year of Taoukwang, (16th February, 1841,) the following remarks, written with the vermilion pencil, were received in reply.

We can on no account calmly put up with the insults and befooling of these rebellious foreigners, as you have done. Blinded and unwilling to see as you are, dare you still have the hardihood to turn your back on our commands! to continue receiving the foreigners' documents, and even to beg favours in their behalf! Such proceedings pass the bounds of reason. Impotent and worthless that you are, what sort of heart is contained within your breast? Not only do you contentedly take in their threats and insults, but you even dare to hold up certain passages with intent to frighten us! But know that we have no coward fears! Besides this we shall again announce our pleasure. Respect this!

*Imperial Edict, ordering Keshen to be put to death on the day he arrives in Pekin.*

On the 4th day of the 3rd moon, (March 26,) an imperial edict was received.

It is authenticated that before Keshen reported that the Sankeang* Chin†, Chin Leenshing, having lost his forces through losing opportunities, cut his throat and died.

But now it is authenticated that General Ho and the seunfoo, E, have reported that the Sankeang-chin, Chin Leenshing, was faithful, valiant, and a good tactician. That he had requested Governor Keshen to block up the mouth of the river, and also requested the issue of five thousand catties of gunpowder; but Keshen would not allow the river to be blocked up, and only issued one thousand catties of powder; with which, moreover, was mixed up a good deal of sand and mud, which rendered the guns useless; and both father and son perished fighting in the ranks,—a fate highly to be commiserated.

Further, E has reported that on the 6th day the Tyger's gates were laid in ruins, which intelligence has riven my very heart and liver. I did not deem that Keshen, from his common-place talent, could sell his country, and still have talent sufficient to gloss over his treason,—a crime for which death is not even a sufficient punishment. I order that the *Yulinkeun* (the emperor's own troops, some of his guards, we presume), with the utmost rigour, to seal and lock up the temple of his ancestors and those of his relations.

I further order Hokih (a Tartar) to proceed to Canton and bring Keshen to Pekin; and the rebellious minister and his whole family are to be put to death on the very day of his arrival.

But since the Tyger's gates have been laid in ruins, the provincial city must be in danger. You, E-leang, should,

* Province of the three rivers. † A military title.

in conjunction with the imperial envoy, Yangfang, exert yourself to keep the city ditch.

Heretofore the rebellious foreigners dreaded the former governor and minister, Lin; but I, the emperor, was deceived into listening to the rebellious minister's deceptive schemes, even so far as to deprive Lin of his office. Now the ruling ministers have delivered a statement, requesting me to restore Lin to his original office: but imperial orders have already been given to the governor Kelung to succeed; and it is not required to make a further change; but I confer upon Lin the first degree of the second rank, and join him with E and his colleagues, to consult on military plans (fo the defence of the province). Respect this. — *Canton Register.*

## APPENDIX F.

*Eight Accusations against Kesher, presented at court by E, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung.*

First.—He held interviews with and received documents from Elliot, on equal terms.

Second.—After his arrival at Canton he did not choose out and depute either literary or military mandarins to go to Elliot, to speak about affairs, but only employed in this office a traitorous Han (Chinese) named Paou-pang.

Third.—The admiral (Kwan) took the troops, and proceeded out to sea to guard and watch the public interests, but nothing whatever would Keshen communicate to him, and when he (the admiral) requested definitive instructions, he was forthwith met with angry railings, and it became impossible for the admiral himself to adjust these affairs of more or less importance.

Fourth.—He issued orders to each of the forts that it would not be allowed to those who might be covetous of merit, to ruin matters by opening fire with their musketry and

great guns of their own accord, and, consequently, these forts and the military stations were all lost on the same day.

Fifth.—He constrained Lekeen, the adjutant-general, to prepare an official despatch for him, acknowledging his (Keshen's) offences, forcing him to affix his (Lekeen's) seals to the same, and to present it to Elliot.

Sixth.—He changed every measure for the worse, made vague and incoherent representations to the court, and brought disaster upon the admiral (who fell at the taking of the Bocca Tigris).

Seventh.—At the offing of Szetsze (on the river above the Bocca Tigris) he fired salutes and went to receive Elliot, and also despatched messengers to deliver his commands to each of the forts, that they were to observe the same arrangement, and receive Elliot in like manner.

Eighth.—He affixed his seals to a document dismembering a portion of our territory, and delivering it over to these barbarian men for a place of residence.

I, E, the lieutenant-governor of Kwang-tung, lay these accusations before the court.—*Canton Register.*

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## APPENDIX G.

*A Proclamation, by Charles Elliot, Esq., &c., Her Majesty's plenipotentiary in China.*

People of Canton,

Your city is spared because the gracious sovereign of Great Britain has commanded the high English officers to remember that the good and peaceful people must be tenderly considered. But, if the high officers of the celestial court offer the least obstruction to the British forces in their present station, then it will become necessary to answer force by force, and the city may suffer terrible injury. And if the merchants be prevented from buying and selling freely with

the British and foreign merchants, then the whole trade of Canton must immediately be stopped. The high officers of the English nation have faithfully used their best efforts to prevent the miseries of war; and the responsibility of the actual state of things must rest upon the heads of the bad advisers of the emperor. Further evil consequences can only be prevented by wisdom and moderation on the part of the provisional government.

Dated off the fort of Estamee, near to Canton, the 6th day of March, 1841.—*Chinese Repository.*

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## APPENDIX H.

*Edict published at Canton, and given into the hands of the foreign merchants, on Thursday, the 20th of May,* 1841.

Yu, the acting-prefect of Canton, issues this edict for public information, in order to calm the feelings of the merchants, and to tranquillize commercial business. It appears that the detachments of troops for Canton have all successively arrived; the laws for the army, however, are very strict, and, without being commissioned, soldiers can never move about to create disturbances. Still it is feared that, as the military hosts are gathered in clouds, the merchants of all nations here engaged in commerce hearing thereof will tremble with alarm, not knowing where these things will end. Some, frightened out of their wits, may abandon their goods and secretly go away; and others may not know whether to expect quiet or danger, while all cherish their fearful apprehensions. Those foreign merchants who are respectfully obedient, are viewed as no ways different from the children of the celestial dynasty; and the imperial commissioner and general pacificator of the rebels, and the high minister and joint commissioners, with their excellencies the governor and lieutenant-governor, managing all things with due con-

sideration, assuredly will not involve the good and the upright in trouble. These merchants, being respectfully obedient, ought to be protected from all injury, and the goods which they have brought with them ought also to be preserved in safety.

It is, therefore, right to issue this edict for full information. And, accordingly, this is published for the assurance of the merchants of every country trading at Canton: to you, who have always been respectfully obedient and long enjoyed our commerce, the high officers of the celestial dynasty, in fulfilling the gracious pleasure of his imperial majesty towards foreigners, will give full protection to the utmost of their strength. Should native robbers and bandits come out to plunder or molest you, they shall be punished with increased severity; and any goods carried off shall be restored, so that the smallest loss shall not be sustained. And you, the said foreign merchants, ought also, on your part, to remain quiet in your lawful pursuits, continuing your trade as usual without alarm or suspicion; but, joining with the disturbed affairs, will give occasion for subsequent repentance. A special edict.—*Chinese Repository.*

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## APPENDIX I.

### *General Order.*

*Head-Quarters, Marion, Canton River,*
*May* 24, 1841.

1. The period has now arrived, so long looked for by the military portion at large of the China expedition, when it may have an opportunity, in co-operation with our gallant associates of the royal navy, of proving what can be effected by discipline and bravery.

2. Major-general Gough feels a confident assurance that

every man will do his duty, that he will have the gratifying task, not only of recording and bringing to notice acts of gallantry, but (what is of infinitely more consequence in the present instance, and will afford stronger proof of devotedness to our country's honour and our professional character,) of unshaken discipline and undeviating attention to the orders issued by the officers in the command of columns of attack.

3. The nature of the position to be carried, and the probable necessity of subdividing the force into separate columns of attack, which may be led through the town and suburbs, make it the more necessary to enforce the most rigid discipline, and to guard against any man leaving the ranks upon any pretence whatever. The man who does so will most probably be cut off; but even should he escape, his name should be branded as a disgrace to his corps.

4. The Chinese system is not one to which the British soldier is accustomed; but if the Chinese have not bravery and discipline, they have cunning and artifice. They have had ample time to prepare, and he may be well assured that their system of stratagem will be called into full play on the present occasion. But though such a system may be effectual against a mob, which every broken body is, it must fall before the steady advance of disciplined soldiers. The major-general will only add, that Britain has gained as much of fame by her mercy and forbearance, as by the gallantry of her troops. An enemy in arms is always a legitimate foe, but the unarmed, or the supplicant for mercy, of whatever country or whatever colour, a true British soldier will always spare.

5. The troops will be prepared, with cooked provisions for two days, to land this day at twelve o'clock, in two columns.

(Signed) Armine S. H. Mountain,
*Lieutenant-colonel, D. A. G.*

—*Chinese Repository.*

# APPENDIX K.

*Proclamation by the lads of thirty-six villages round Canton, to the English barbarians.*

The inhabitants of the provincial city of Canton, and of each of the villages and hamlets, clearly proclaim to the English barbarians as follows.

This proclamation is issued because you have opposed the troops of the celestial dynasty, entered and attacked places in the inner waters; this proves your utter disregard of the laws; and it is also well known that Elliot and his colleagues are stupid people, who wish to change our manners by new-fangled and exotic doctrines; and although we are but small country people, we are still the children of the emperor, who is regardful of ourselves and of our families, and also of our native country, and possess hearts that to the last cherish our fathers and mothers. The defence of our native place, and of ourselves and families, was first committed to the care of stout and valiant soldiers; but now, being excited and united by one feeling of indignation, why should we trouble the public officers to grasp their spears? for at our war-cry numberless excited hands will gather together,—

> Whose swords are a thousand, whose bosoms are one,—

who of themselves will be equal to the slaughter of your hated species.

> We are true to the last of our blood and our breath,
> And like reapers descend to the harvest of death.
> Then welcome——
> But woe to your kindred, and woe to your cause,
> When *China* her weapon indignantly draws.

At this moment ye are secretly practising diabolical arts; and unnaturally profligate as the che bird, ye have usurped

possession of Hong-kong, and have hoped to seize the taxes of government. It is authenticated that when ye were at Ting-hai, ye debauched men's wives and daughters: and all your proceedings have been lawless. The measure of your crimes and wickedness is full, and how can we, the people of the province, sit still and witness the seizure (of the five millions of dollars). Hitherto we have hidden ourselves, and have not raised our heads, all being on the verge of terror, and not in will and determination together united; but henceforth, we have all bound ourselves by a solemn oath: yet being impeded by the peaceful measures of the public officers, we did, for a short time, retire to our different villages, not presuming to join battle.

Hitherto we have practised the sacred precepts that have been handed down to us; and we are perfectly well versed in the great principles of righteousness, and in the vague and unpractised duty of defending ourselves and families, although we are not much more than a set of blockheads, yet is the will and determination of the multitude in the city, from beginning to end, on all points, without difference or change.

How can it be, think ye, that we have assembled and united merely because ye have arranged your battalia? Now, after the publication of this proclamation, if you still continue morally unawakened, and adhere to your stupidity, and again tread in your old footsteps, we will, forthwith, prepare our lances and tri-forked spears, and forming ourselves into an army of righteousness, with our strategists to form plans, and the whole united and exerted strength of our stout and valiant youths, then, when we but once uplift our hands, will the pearly Canton river be tranquillized; for if we form our plans of ambush, then even the very devils themselves will not be able to fathom them: as it is our imperative duty to expel, sweep out, and purify our land of the English, and thus prevent a shred of your sails from returning to your country: and thus shall we illustrate to the

whole world the great principles of righteousness, and further, the black-haired people will be again restored to their original occupations.

Ye, in your depraved, licentious nooks of places, we certainly apprehend have not yet attained to a thorough knowledge of our oath and our intentions; it is right, therefore, with speed to disseminate the same to all of your race. Ye are all ordered to obey implicitly, and not involve yourselves in a too-late repentance. A special proclamation, 4th moon, 13th day, June 2nd.—*Canton Register.*

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## APPENDIX L.

*Report of Yihshan, the imperial nephew, and commissioner on the ransom of Canton, forwarded to the imperial presence at the rate of six hundred le per day. Dated May 31,* 1841.

Since my arrival in Canton province, the forts of Hochung (first bar), of Tay-wang-kow (Macao passage), fort Tung-wong-kong (swallow's nest fort, or garden battery), and other places were lost. I then consulted with Lung and Yang, assistant commissioners, and erected on the banks of the river in succession the stone fort, or Ny-ching (near where the British troops landed), and batteries at Wong-sha, at the Tinghae gate (petition gate), and at Kung-meon-chuck (a temple in the suburbs), at Hwangcha (above Shameen), and at Yihcha-wih, and at other places. Officers and soldiers guarded them, and all around we put up sand-bags, palisadoes, piles of stones, and balls; we moreover dug trenches for the protection of the soldiers. We also placed sand-bags all around the city walls, to make them stronger, and I myself, with the assistant commissioners, went round to reconnoitre and inspect the works in different places. Besides we embodied some of the brave Fokien sailors, to the

number of more than one thousand men, and prepared rafts and straw to make attacks by fire.

On the evening of the 1st day of the 4th moon (21st of May), the great conflict with the barbarians commenced at the western fort. We attacked them with our guns, burning instantly five of their boats, and breaking two of their guns. and smashing two great masts of the barbarian ships. They were now all returning, when your minister at the 5th watch (3 o'clock to 5 A M.) was upon the point of bringing up his soldiers for their extermination. But all on a sudden, the number of their vessels was increased by sixteen ships, eight steam-boats, and eighty ship's boats, which all pressed forward. The soldiers, on account of the hard fighting during the night, were all fatigued, their guns were few, and although they had fired several tens of rounds, yet, the barbarian ships being strong and numerous, they could not beat them back. Their soldiers finally got on shore, and rushed to the plunder of the city, entering the forts at the small and large northern gates, and attacking the town on three sides. Their rockets were thrown in masses, their balls hit the people's houses, and they caught fire; all our soldiers had not a place to stand on; their cannon was melted by the fire of the barbarians; and the buildings destroyed (magazines blown up). I cannot yet accurately ascertain the number of all the soldiers and great officers that were killed and wounded. We were hard pressed, and returning into the city, myriads of people were weeping and wailing; the number of those who invoked heaven and begged for peace covered the roads.

When your minister looked with his own eyes upon this, his very bowels were torn asunder. In stooping down from the wall, I made inquiries of the barbarians; they all said that several millions of taels for the surrendered opium had not yet been paid, and, therefore, they requested the sum of one million of taels, in liquidation thereof; and then they would immediately withdraw their soldiers, and retire outside

the Bogue; that they had to make no other request; and that then the people might go on in their customary way. I then asked them about the surrender of the whole territory of Hong Kong, and they replied that Keshen had given it them, and that an authenticated paper from him to this effect had been placed on record.

Your minister thought that the city was in danger, that there had been repeated disturbances, and that the whole people were prostrated in mud and ashes. I therefore agreed to this, *pro tempore*; moreover, I considered again and again that this was a solitary city to be fought against, and that both the fat and lean were greatly injured. There was, moreover, no battle field for deploying a great army, and I could not do otherwise than beguile them to go out of the Bogue. Then we shall repair our forts, and again endeavour to attack and exterminate them, and recover our old territory of Hong Kong.

Your ministers beseech your majesty to deliver us over to the board, that we may be punished, and also to direct that Ke, the governor, and E, the lieutenant-governor, be severally dealt with. Respectfully we present a petition from all the people asking for peace.

Your minister is conscious of not being guiltless. A respectful memorial.

*The Emperor's reply to the foregoing.*

In a dispatch from the great military council to the imperial commissioner and rebel-quelling generalissimo, Yih, the selected assistant great ministers, Lung, Yang, and Tse, the governor-general of the two Kwang, Ke, the general of Kwangchow district, Ko, the fooyuen, E, and the footung, Yuh (the following imperial edict was inclosed).

On the 29th of the fourth moon (June 18), we the military council received the (following) imperial edict.

Yih and his colleagues have reported that the English

barbarian ships attacked the provincial city; but the troops who guarded it feared not for its safety, and affairs were managed according to the emergencies of the case.

On looking at the report, I thoroughly understand the whole of it. The English barbarians, after engaging, have twice retreated before my troops; thus the affair has already become weakened, and the strength of the English has been strongly pressed upon, whenever put forth in the battle's strife.

The said barbarians are like dogs and sheep in their dispositions:—

A dog in forehead, but in heart a deer.

They are not worth an argument.

Moreover, as they have already been chastised and repressed, and the terrific majesty of my soldiers has already been manifested, and the resident inhabitants of the city have through their multitudinous troubles presented petitions.

Further, it is authenticated that Yishan has reported that the said barbarians doff their caps, and perform the proper ceremonies, and have begged and prayed that he will transmit their report, imploring for favour, I, the emperor, believe in you (the said high officers), and that the trouble and vexation of your minds, through the prayers and supplications of the people, drove you to extremities, or forced you to temporize, and induced you to request me to allow the (English) trade.

The said generalissimo should enjoin severe orders on the said barbarian officer, that he immediately retire every one of his ships of war, and send them to the outer ocean, surrender all the batteries, and be implicitly obedient to the laws. Then only may they merely trade, according to custom, nor allow them, in opposition to the prohibitions, to smuggle opium; but if they dare purposely to oppose the prohibitions, then decidedly no indulgence shall be shown, nor any excuses allowed.

I direct the generalissimo and his colleagues to meet the governor and lieutenant-governor, and with all their hearts, and souls, and strength to consult on and devise plans of management; and when every thing is safely settled, to report all the particulars.

It is impossible to fathom the dispositions of the barbarians, and it is right to prepare secret means of defence, nor should there be the least degree of negligence or remissness. Wait until after the barbarian ships have retired, then quickly resume possession of the forts, and guard and maintain the important passes and such like places.

Build new and strong forts, and put the old in the best possible state of defence. If the English barbarians evince any disposition to be proud and domineering, then the troops should be led to exterminate them; for it must not be, because favour has been bestowed on them, that their extortions in all matters should be unopposed.

Here is a supplementary report.

Numbers of the houses of the resident inhabitants beyond the walls have been burnt.

I order Ke and E immediately to depute officers for the special purpose of examining clearly, to tranquillize, soothe, and compassionate the people. As there is stored up in the provincial treasury 2,800,000 taels weight of silver. I order that arrangements be made for the Hong merchants to replace it by instalments in successive years. Permit no specious delays. I also order that when methods of management have been consulted and determined upon, that they be carried into effect.

Forward this edict at the rate of six hundred le a day, and order all men quickly to inform themselves of its contents. Respect this.—*Canton Register.*

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## APPENDIX M.

*Proclamation by the three imperial commissioners, offering rewards for the bodies, dead or alive, of Her Majesty's plenipotentiary, Bremer, Morrison, Dent, Thom, Keaheape*.*

By the rebellion-quelling generalissimo, Yih, and the selected assistant great ministers, Yang and Lung, a perspicuous proclamation to be circulated everywhere, concerning a universal conferment of rewards.

As to the first reward, he who obtains it shall find favour and honour in the eyes of his countrymen, becoming the most eminent worthies; his merit will be extraordinary.

In crooked and difficult emergencies, then is the time to use all men of superior talent.

The English rebels, since the past year, when they threw in the apple of discord at Ting-hai, until now have been rebelling against heaven, and perversely opposed to reason; domineering and avaricious, depending upon their numbers, they attacked and laid in ruins the frontiers; and from the profligacy of their dispositions, abandoned themselves to lewdness and robbery; dug up the graves: but what crimes had the decayed bones committed? burnt and laid in ruins the fields and huts; and the people's fat is altogether exhausted; they have peeled the flesh and drunk the marrow; and the crow of the cock and the bark of the dog are sounds that have been cut off from myriads of families; and children of three cubits in height have not escaped a loss of chastity and defilement of their persons; and now they have come to Canton, and with more false pretexts, seek for reconciliation; taking advantage of our being unprepared, and with fox-like cunning (implying we are foxes changed into men), they seduce both those abroad and at home to become traitors;

* Supposed to be meant for Captain Herbert.

and with rat-like irresolution, their furtive glances are the curse of China; this is what causes the hearts of men both far and near to grieve, and the middle and outside nations to gnash their teeth.

We have received the imperial orders to apply ourselves to one purpose only—that of subjugation, and to lead on the troops to extermination, and rescue the people on the frontiers out of the water and fire, and seize the rebellious seed as the king-e* fish, devour its flesh, and sleep in its skin.

We early exhort the people to strengthen their resolution, and to clap the king-e on its back, and grasp its horn; let all strenuously unite their minds and strength.

Ye civil and military officers, country gentlemen, and scholars of Canton, are generally said to love righteousness, and hitherto have cultivated the principles of reason, and your whole province teems with plenty and happiness; your resources are illimitable; the winds and clouds now colluby in harmony; your whole dependence is now on excellent stratagems, and all are gratefully incited by the desire of the holy Lord to save his people; you all have heaven's warrant for the merit of destroying all your enemies, *i.e.*, if you conquer the English, you will never have another equal, and to build up prosperity and happiness in your several neighbourhoods, and again have your names engraved for meritorious loyalty on bamboo and silk! and have the official patents hanging down with pendant seals; and we, the great officers, summons those who possess the knowledge of right principles, then plenty and national happiness will visit us, and the people will enjoy the blessings of peace.

We, the generals, hold by our oaths as water, and grasp the laws as a mountain; when issuing orders, we act up to

* King-e, a fabulous fish, used figuratively for a devouring conqueror of men.—Morrison's *Dictionary*.

them, and will not postpone our rewards. We again, therefore, issue these commands, and distinctly arrange the scale of rewards.

Repay them for having involved you in calamity, and revenge those who sacrificed their lives for their country; when we can on the morning report your merits to the emperor, you will in the evening be proclaimed on the lists of the meritorious. Ye soldiers and people, take care not to commit yourselves as the Chusanites, then, perhaps, you will be firm as rocks in the pearly sea. Let each obey this implicitly; slight it not. A special proclamation.

The following is the scale of rewards:—

Any one, either of the military or the people, who shall seize and deliver up Elliot, shall be rewarded with 100,000 dollars, and reported for promotion to the fourth degree of rank.

Those who seize and deliver up Elliot's subordinates, Bremer, Morrison, Dent, Thom, Kea-heape, shall be rewarded with 50,000 dollars, and be reported for promotion to the fifth degree of rank.

Those who concoct a plan for burning the English barbarians' ships of war, with reference to the number of their masts, at the rate of 1,000 dollars for one mast; for a schooner, 3,000 dollars.

Those who seize alive any head thieves (captains, &c., of her majesty's ships), besides the settled scale of rewards, if there are any goods on board the ship, they shall be divided amongst the captors. The rest of the nations which continue respectful and obedient, are allowed to continue their trade as usual; and the military and people must not seek causes of quarrels with their ships, in order to manifest a distinction between the obedient and disobedient.

If any dare obstinately to oppose, they shall be heavily punished without any remission,

Those who seize a steam-vessel, shall be rewarded with

6,000 dollars, and her cargo shall be divided amongst them; and their services shall be esteemed of high military merit.

Merchants of any foreign nation who seize and deliver up Elliot, and aid China in the meritorious work of exterminating the English, shall be rewarded as follows, under the Season's regulations; they shall be reported to be released from half the usual duties, in order to rouse them to exertion.

Those who are thoroughly acquainted with the dispositions of the barbarians, and can outwit by stratagems their adherents, or cut off their race, or make fire utensils and vessels to destroy the lives of the barbarians, will be all allowed great merit. If they wish to become public officers, they shall be reported for that purpose; if they do not wish to become public officers, they shall be rewarded with 20,000 dollars.

Those who seize alive a native-born Englishman, shall be rewarded with 200 dollars; those who cut off an Englishman's head, shall receive 100 dollars, for a live native of India 50 dollars, and for his head 30 dollars will be given.

Various rewards and remissions of punishments for crimes committed, are then promised to various natives for seizing and killing Englishmen, and also punishments for those who use our goods or supply us with necessaries.

*Report of the imperial commissioners.*

"On the 10th day of the 4th moon (30th May), Yihshan, Lungwan, and Yang-fang sent in a report about the attack of the provincial city, whilst they themselves had made the utmost exertion for the protection of the same. It was fortunate that no injury had been suffered, and that matters would turn out in such a manner that their wishes for maintaining themselves a length of time would be realized.

"They had now made temporary arrangements for the

occasion, and hereby humbly presented a true and respectful statement of the real state of things, and looking up and beseeching the sacred glance at their memorial."

On the 6th of the 4th moon (May 26th), we repeatedly sent couriers to give an account of the engagements that took place for several successive days. This is on record.

We find that the provincial city is situated at the foot of the Kwanyin mountain, extending to the banks of the river, and the branches of the river from Fatee join there, and thence flow to the sea; by these outlets merchants and travellers approach the city. From the moment the barbarian vessels entered the rivers we stationed there a number of vessels to form a strong line of defence, and close the communication in the direction of east and west. From Heetuh and Tay-wang-kow to Whampoa, and thence to the Bogue, the maritime entrances of the river become, in their progress, intricate, spreading out and extending to a considerable extent, and the approaches are indefensible; the areas of the fields are also too narrow for pitching camps and stationing soldiers.

From the direction of the northern hills the city is commanded from various positions, it is completely overlooked from thence; there are some barbarians who went there by stealth and spied out the land, against which it was not easy to guard.

Previous to this time we prepared all the materials for attacking them by fire at Neishing, fifteen le from the city. For this purpose we used rafts and straw that had been brought from Kwang-se, and we stationed the camps of officers deputed for the purpose at Kinshan, below the hills and other places which are in the district of Samshwuy; but the said rebels, after ascertaining that these double rafts were nearly ready, commenced battle from the 1st of the 4th moon (21st May), and continued their assault. They also sent, previously and secretly, boats to take the soundings, but the

soldiers there stationed on guard opened their fire and beat them back. On the 5th (May 25th), the whole number of barbarian vessels attacked the city; besides their steam-boats steamed up to Neishing and opened their fire; traitorous natives disguised themselves as sailors, and confusedly entered our fire-ships, and the fires spread right and left; whilst they burnt the greater part of the grass and fuel in the rear of our army. These traitorous natives jumped into the water, and, reaching the shore, penetrated by land to the rear of our army. Thus attacked on three sides Neishing could not be defended. By this time all communication on the river by letter was cut off, and there were no means of working the guns, nor any way of advancing; even if we had pressed forward we should not have been able to move on and reach the city. Though the military could be provided from the public granaries with provisions, the people depended for their rice upon the villages from whence it was brought.

Now, as the city was strongly invested, necessaries of life for the people were stopped; moreover the firing never ceased, and the inhabitants of the new moved into the old city, and there treated each other with hospitality; but, for any length of time, they could not have borne the deprivations and want. The people, moreover, are easily swayed in their opinions. They never think that the provincial city is an important territory, and that the province depends upon it; so that if there be the least degree of negligence or loss those vile wretches in the various districts will immediately avail themselves of the opportunity and rise in crowds. Besides the grand army assembled in the city might be again employed in the open fields, and the soldiers under command might, in various detachments, be chosen to occupy difficult passages to entice the enemy, (the troops being cooped up within the city, the report explains they would be more available if out-

side), then there would not be the least reason to abandon the city.

We, your slaves, are responsible for the preservation or the loss of the city, and we could not consider a thousand pieces of gold when territory was in question. Your slaves have reflected noon and night upon this matter, and could not discover any means for effecting their purpose. They had previously ascertained that there were several small forts not capable of containing many soldiers; we, therefore, station in the northern part of the city the élite of the army, so that they might strongly protect the batteries. But when the barbarians, by the way of Neishing, got on shore and advanced towards the north, we opened a fire upon them from the city walls, and killed more than ten, and more than one hundred traitorous natives; the barbarians then retreated and kept the brow of the hill in their possession, while they occupied the forts. By this time it had grown dark, and the army retreated for a while into the city.

On the 7th (May 27th), the inhabitants of the city confusedly presented petitions, beseeching us to protect the whole city and their lives. According to the reports made by soldiers stationed at the angle of a parapet, the barbarians outside of the city pointed towards the wall, as if they had something to say. We then immediately ordered Colonel Heuen Chugshing to ascend the walls and look about him: he soon perceived that there were several *barbarian eyes*, who pointed with their hands to heaven and earth, but the colonel could not make out what they had to say; he therefore called interpreters, who instituted inquiries; and according to their statement they were anxious to explain their grievvances. But General Twan Yungfuh exclaimed: "How can you suppose that a generalissimo of the celestial empire can grant you an interview? he has only received orders, and has come here with the sole intention of fighting you, and

knows of nothing else." The said *barbarian eye* immediately doffed his cap, dismissed his retinue of officers, threw down his arms on the ground, and made his obeisance towards the city*.

General Twan stated to your slaves that he had made inquiries into the state of affairs: for how could grievances exist, since the foreigners had shown resistance to the central flowery empire, and had committed outrageous acts of the maddest description†? He (the barbarian eye) said, that the English barbarians could not barter their goods; that there existed no intercourse or facilities of trade; that they had lost their capital, and had debts owing to them unpaid.

Since the cannonade was opened on both sides of the new city, they had not been able to communicate what they had to say; and therefore he (the barbarian eye) had come hither to request the generalissimo to beseech the great emperor to show favour in paying the debts, and graciously permit the (English) trade; they would then immediately retreat outside the Bogue, restore the forts, and not dare to create disturbance, and so forth.

According to the petition of the Hong merchants, the said barbarians in their statement to them, had only desired to trade as formerly, and to receive the full payment of the debts that had been incurred for several years. They would then instantly retire with all their war ships outside the Bogue. We, your slaves, maturely weighed these matters, and found that the fortifications of the Bogue being lost, there existed no protection for those who were within or those without. If the whole multitude of the province

* Two women's bangles were thrown down from the walls to the English officers; one was lost in the grass, and recovered only after a long search.

† The Chinese think and say that all grievances and complaints are on their side; and, from our gingerly manner of righting ourselves, with some reason.

wished to engage them (the English), still the possession of the Bogue is indispensable. The best, therefore, that could be done was to agree to this proposal, to preserve the city from danger, and give new life to the fainting inhabitants. We calculate the whole annual sum arising from the taxes and duties of Canton province, to be no less than three million of taels. If only the business of the barbarians was clearly settled, the people might in a few years afterwards recover their accustomed spirits; but if we waited for any length of time, unexpected troubles might perhaps arise, which involve us not only in heavy expenses and dilemmas, but the people, who are the stamina of an empire, might be involved in circumstances of great wretchedness of no trifling nature.

We, therefore, resolved in public consultation to appoint Yu Faouchun, the Kwan-chow-foo, as our deputy, to make a satisfactory arrangement; we therefore granted the prayer of those Hong merchants, permitting them to trade with all the nations, to revive the drooping spirits of the people; because the said barbarians derive their very heart's blood from the trade.

When once the barbarian vessels have gone out, and the traitorous natives have been dispersed, we could, all along from the city to the Bogue, increase the number of fortifications at every important point, and cast and plant additional guns; at the mouth block up the entrances with stones. Thus we should be able to prevent the enemy and maintain ourselves effectually, and cramp their efforts. Should they again dare to act outrageously, we would immediately stop their trade, and manage them well. This is a true statement of the recent attack on the city and river, and our temporary management, which we conjointly present for the great emperor's sacred glance, asking for instructions.

*First supplementary report.*

We, your slaves, Yihshan, &c., had received directions to lead forward the army and repair to Canton, for the

slaughter of the English barbarians; now your slaves (all the high officers) are entrusted with the territorial jurisdiction, upon which we spend many an anxious thought. But in exterminating this ugly, detestable brood, in displaying the celestial terrors, and in rejoicing men's hearts, they dare not act rashly. But they are deeply grieved at having been obliged to come to these temporary arrangements, and feel themselves called upon to lay before your sacred majesty a true statement. There are about eight different points respecting the attack and defence of Canton, which your slave, Yangfang, has privately communicated for your sacred glance. When subsequently your slaves Yihshan and Lungwan arrived, they duly examined all the approaches to the provincial city, which were all defended.

We find that Canton has carried on a commercial intercourse for two hundred years. The disposition of all the barbarians is partial to the Canton people, a fact generally known; and the inhabitants of the coast, with the fishermen, and Tanka women, are still more familiar with the barbarians, and versed in their language; hankering after gain they are fond of fight, and easily abandon their villages. The barbarians, therefore, are not sparing of heavy expenses to engage them as messengers, and they are devotedly attached to the foreigners, only obeying their orders, and privately communicating to them news of all matters. Those who have been before seized and who suffered capital punishment, their traces are lost amidst the commercial bustle, and they cannot be recognized. Moreover, there are some who have disguised themselves as soldiers, put on regimentals, and mixed with the ranks (of the English), while others have stood forward, and scattering themselves have deeply injured our army; their cunning devices are of various descriptions, and it is their scheme to afford assistance from the interior; we ought to seize them privately and make an example of them as a warning to the multitude.

In the second moon, the fooyuen Eleang printed a proclamation for their guidance, forgiving the past; we, your slaves, also repeatedly promised them very great rewards for their encouragement, but only very few returned to their allegiance.

All the guns of the army and navy have been scattered and lost, the marines have ceased to exist, and when we station land soldiers on the river to act against the enemy, the fire of the barbarians proves too hot. The troops trusted to their intrenchments, sand-bags, cotton bales, and cow-hides, which they had stretched out for more than ten covids (in thickness), but even these were penetrated; therefore the garrisons had no resting-place for their feet. We have at present more than seventeen thousand soldiers, and although they have, for a considerable time, seen a good deal of military service, and been obedient to their orders, they still say they never saw anything like the Canton affair. There was no arena for fighting, and it was always difficult to fix a camp; many fell sick on account of having been long exposed to the heat and dampness, and the disposable troops from the garrison of Footshan did not exceed seven-tenths of the original number. When the barbarian vessels rushed forward to the attack of the provincial city, the officers and the people acted to the best of their abilities, and with ardour they kept steady, and held out for several days and nights totally regardless of their lives. But alas! native traitors deluded the people's minds, and when the barbarian banditti landed and took possession of the northern heights, the whole city was beneath their eyes and the danger most imminent.

Your slaves are grateful to the great emperor for preserving and nourishing them; and having received orders to defend the frontier, would have made no account of their lives; but reflecting there were several millions of human beings in the city who had, through innocence, met with such

great misery, and reflecting, moreover, that the provincial city was a most important place, containing granaries, treasuries, and prisons, which are all of the greatest consequence, and that if once lost it would be difficult to recover it again; moreover, all the native villains in every direction would seize this opportunity to plunder, and the whole province would be thrown into commotion: we therefore no longer hesitated to conclude the arrangement. To sum up the whole matter and state of affairs, the people, on account of being confined for a long while, grew daily more frightened; they came forward in large bodies, with supplications and weeping, asking for advice.

We, your slaves, have again and again thought over the matter; but if we had not made any temporary arrangement, affairs would have gone to rack and ruin, and our crime would have been less excusable.

We, your slaves, having not yet presented a report, we now do so, awaiting the imperial decree for our guidance. Being, however, much pressed by the force of circumstances, we shall not be able to await long for an answer; and all our crimes committed under erroneous impressions are unpardonable. We therefore request a decree, that we be delivered over to the criminal board for severe punishment.

*Second supplementary report.*

We have again examined and found that the province of Canton has had commercial connexions with all nations for nearly two hundred years; and that the Hong and barbarian merchants have traded with each other in successive years for a long period; the debts of the Hong merchants are consequently great; and already have the barbarian merchants often requested the liquidation of these debts. Former collectors of the maritime customs have degraded and imprisoned those Hong merchants, who became deeply involved

in debt (to the foreign merchants); and the debts were apportioned to the remaining Hong merchants, each to pay so much in annual instalments. All this is on record; and this has been the system of management from former times until now.

It is now authenticated that the original Hong merchants, Howqua and his colleagues, have petitioned, saying, "that formerly, in our trade with the English barbarians, our debts to them were summed up; and although clear methods of liquidating them by yearly instalments were agreed, yet the trade of the English barbarian merchants having been stopped since the 19th year (of Taoukwang, 1839), and until we have been unable to pay off the debts (by the mode agreed upon). We now humbly request that you will institute a clear examination, that the debts may be speedily cleared off. How dare we Hong merchants either to refuse, or delay in the least degree, to pay these debts? Besides, we Hong merchants, in our present embarrassed state, although exerting our utmost efforts, still cannot supply so much as 2,800,000 taels, and time is now pressing. Further, all our teas are already removed, or exported, and we have now no power to assist each other in lending or borrowing. Looking up, we earnestly beg that 2,800,000 taels be advanced to us from the imperial treasury, and be delivered to us under the proper forms, to enable us to pay the debts owing to the (English) barbarians. The same sum to be repaid in four years by duties levied on our trade: thus the sum now borrowed, will, in its whole amount, be by and by returned; and so forth."

We, your slaves, have again, and a fourth time, reflected on this proposal; and although it arises from the debts of the Hong merchants, yet just now this fault (of advancing the public funds) sinks into nothing in comparison with the consequence of the disposition of the (English) barbarians: and these consequences are not small or trifling. It is better

to condescend, and allow the money to be advanced to the Hong merchants, to be repaid by yearly instalments. This, on the whole, appears to be the best plan, and we therefore do not see our rashness or obscurities in recommending it, and therefore we venture to submit it (to your imperial majesty). At the same time that we make this report, we also disburse the money; and the debts, once cleared off, the barbarian merchants will hardly be able to make further pretence. Besides communicating these circumstances to the comptroller of maritime customs, we, your slaves, attach this supplementary document to our duly prepared report.

*Memorial.*

The imperially-appointed great rebel-quelling general Yihshan, and his colleagues Lung-wan and Yang-fang, most respectfully present this memorial before the throne of the great emperor, detailing how that the ships of the English foreigners have left the provincial river; how that they (the English) have given us back the forts; how that our militia and volunteers have slaughtered a great many native traitors and foreign robbers who were raising disturbance; and how that we have restored tranquillity to the provincial city,—on all of which, looking upwards, we pray that a sacred glance may be cast.

Your slaves, after having sent off their memorial to your majesty, on the 15th day of the 4th moon (*i. e.*, Friday the 4th of June), detailing the temporary expedients they had recourse to in the exigencies of the case for the placing of affairs on a perfectly secure basis,—at one and the same time took the greatest precautions for the defence of the city, and the tranquillization of the inhabitants, and commanded that the English ships should forthwith get up their anchors and depart.

The said foreigners immediately got more than ten sail

of their ships under weigh, and left the river; when a commander of theirs, Warren, petitioned us, saying, that "the real truth of the matter was, the foreign merchants of every nation were very hard pushed for money, and worrying him for payment of their debts, and therefore it was that he and they (Captain Warren and the English) had no recourse but to beg that they might be cleared off; that they had no intention whatever to offend or commit any act of aggression upon the heavenly dynasty; and forasmuch he implored us, the great general and colleagues, and all the high mandarins of the province, that we would supplicate the great emperor to show them mercy, and pardon their offences!"

Your slaves find, that the foreign ships having on this occasion bolted into the river by violence, was all caused by the native traitors showing them the way, which in fine led to the rude people of the islands and the foreign robbers availing themselves of the state of things to work evil; they robbed and plundered the villages, so that we could not but take strenuous measures to extirpate them root and branch. But the traces of these native traitors are exceedingly secret, and cunningly concealed; there are some who put on the clothes of foreigners, there are others who dress like (our) soldiers and militia; their ramifications extend everywhere, so that we must send detachments to scour the whole country to catch them. If we send our regular troops after them in so many directions, it is to be feared that they might not discriminate clearly before slaying, and thus calamity would be entailed on the peaceably-disposed people, which might lead to some very shocking catastrophe. It therefore appeared to us the best plan that the country people of the different villages should form themselves into armed associations for mutual defence.

The headman (of one of these armed associations), Leangtsaeying and others, divided themselves into several bodies, and going in different directions, they succeeded in capturing

upwards of two hundred native traitors and foreign robbers, black and white; among which last were two chief persons.

Your slaves thereupon sent orders to the militia, gentry, and others, *that as they took them, so should they behead them* at Namoon. In reference to one of these chief persons, the said gentry and others reported to us by petition, that "he was in reality Bremer, and that they (the English) were willing to pay a hundred dollars to ransom the body, which they (the said gentry and others) had stowed away in a secluded house;" but whether this really be the case or not, we shall first investigate clearly, and afterwards duly memorialize your majesty thereupon.

At the present moment, the foreign ships having all successively left the Tay-wang-kow (or Macao passage) and Leeptuck district (*i. e.*, neighbourhood of Howqua's folly), we have already sent troops to occupy and defend the different forts, and we have thrown open the gates of the city that the people might continue their business, and the inhabitants enjoy peace and quietness as they used to do. But of those who removed into the country, there are still many who cherish feelings of suspicion and look about them distrustfully; your slaves have already issued proclamations inviting them to return to their homes; and at the same time we have examined clearly into the claims of those who have had their houses destroyed by fire, and we consider it right that a manifestation of compassion should be made in their behalf, and we hope also to find some employment for those poor people who are left without house or home.

As for those forts and guns which have been lost and destroyed in the province of Kwang-tung, we must rebuild the ones and cast afresh the others, greatly adding to their numbers; and moreover the guns must be cast on an improved principle to meet the change of the times; we must take away where there is a surplus, to make up where there is a deficiency; and, in short, so shape our plans and so

employ our ways and means as to obtain the great desideratum, viz., that our defences may be strong, that without any exertion on our part we may be able to maintain them to all eternity. It is not enough that we rebuild our forts along the banks of the river in the neighbourhood of the city, we must also pay attention to every pass and point of importance, and use either stones and sand-bags, or wooden rafts, as may appear best fitted; at the same time pushing on the work with all speed and diligence.

At this present moment in San-yune-lee and other villages, in the district of Pawn-yu, a great many native thieves and robbers have availed themselves of the unhappy state of things to kidnap and plunder; it will be necessary, therefore, to send thither an armed force to suppress them; and along with the troops have proclamations stuck up, to confirm and comfort the hearts of the people.

Your slave, Yihshan, has led with him a thousand soldiers, and stationed them at Shekmoon, Kinshan, and other places in that quarter. In all these matters he has consulted with his colleague, Lung-wan; and we have together made an inspection of all the rafts of wood we have in reserve, previously to sending them down to block up the mouth of the river. And at a place called Yang-tang, distant fifteen le (five miles) from the city of Canton, we have stationed two thousand soldiers, under the command of the Tsung-ping (or brigadier) Kechung, that he may thereby guard the approaches on the eastern side. Your majesty's minister, Yang-ang, resides temporarily at the provincial city, and is in constant communication with your minister Kekung, the viceroy, and Eleang, the lieutenant-governor, also Chookinhing, a colonel of the imperial guards, devising how every officer and soldier may be best employed in the most secure and secret measures of defence. Your majesty's minister, the new admiral Woo (poor Kwan's successor) will immediately proceed to his new appointment, and take with him a num-

ber of "water braves" from Fokien. He first goes to the Bocca-Tigris to receive back the forts: and we are only waiting till the foreign ships shall have proceeded to the outer ocean, when your slaves will in person repair thither and have a thorough inspection of the place, which we shall numerously garrison, and take all possible precautions to increase our mounds and ditches, and sink stakes to strengthen our defences.

We are only waiting quietly for the withdrawal of the foreign ships of war, when we shall again wait upon your majesty with a supplementary report.

What relates to the foreign ships having already retired from before the city, and to the armed associations having slaughtered native traitors and foreign robbers, we now must respectfully submit to the imperial eye in the foregoing memorial, which is forwarded by express.—*Canton Register.*

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## APPENDIX N.

### *Proclamation.*

The city of Ting-hai, the capital of the Chusan island and its dependencies, having been again taken possession of by the combined forces of her Britannic majesty, in conformity with the royal commands to that effect, which her majesty has been pleased to issue through her majesty's high ministers; it is hereby made known to the inhabitants of the said city of Ting-hai and its dependencies, that the British government has resolved to retain the said city, and islands, and their dependencies, until the demands, which the undersigned plenipotentiary, &c., has been directed to make from the imperial government of China, shall be not only acceded to but carried into full effect.

The inhabitants are, therefore, given to understand that years may probably elapse before the said city, &c., will

be restored to the emperor's authority. In the mean time a military government will be formed to protect the well-disposed and quiet, and to punish the ill-disposed and refractory. Such regulations as may become necessary from time to time, will be notified to the people by proclamations; and all classes are hereby invited to resume their usual trades and occupations, under the assurance of being fostered and protected, so long as they conduct themselves as orderly and obedient subjects of the government under which they are living.

That the people may have every facility to obtain redress of any wrongs committed against them, and to convey their representations to the government, Captain Dennis, one of the officers of the Queen of England's forces, has been appointed a military magistrate.

God save the Queen of England. Given under my hand in Chusan, this sixth day of October, 1841.

(Signed) HENRY POTTINGER,
*Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary.*

—*Chinese Repository.*

## APPENDIX O.

*Lew Yunko's reasons for not attacking the barbarians at Amoy.*

I have respectfully inquired as to the affairs of the barbarians in the province Fokien, and I state them separately for your majesty's glance.

1. I have inquired and found that the governor Yen formerly directed all his subordinates to seize all the great and small vessels, &c., and to consult on and plan an attack (on the English ships) by fire. I have now heard that the said rebels, hearing of the rumours, were already prepared: the plans were therefore stopped in the middle. I heard that he

had also devised other different plans, the secrecy of which could not get bruited abroad, and I had no means of making an inquiry about them. Further, when he heard that the lieutenant-governor of Canton, E, had received the imperial orders to repair to Fokien, all affairs were again stopped, and he determined not to move the troops, waiting for the arrival of the new imperial envoy to superintend, and then he would again draw the sword; but in all places the water braves and the recruits are still constantly drilled. As to the rest of affairs, there was not the least movement; and I cannot make any inquiries on which to found a report.

2. I have inquired and found, that, as formerly, the barbarian ships at Ko-long-soo are seven in number; and they remain there for the purpose of selling large quantities of opium, and other goods. I have heard that one ship, having finished her sales, has sailed; afterwards another ship arrived for the purpose of sales; thus, when one has finished another begins. The time of their going and coming is uncertain; they do not presume to carry on their trade at any other place than there; neither do they annoy or vex the natives, nor do they agitate in any other manner. I have heard that the said rebels, knowing that Amoy is as warm as Canton, said they intended to remain there a year.

3. I have heard that all ferry-boats plying between Amoy and Changchow, the rebellious barbarians have ordered to hoist the English flag, and then they are allowed to pass to and fro; and although the boatmen are unwilling to obey, still they dare not return to Amoy. Yesterday I heard that eight sail of the people's grass-boats entered the port, when they were forthwith seized by the rebels and burnt.

4. I have heard that the barbarians have privately ordered five native traitors, of the island of Ko-long-soo, to secrete themselves at Tseunchow, Tungyan, and Amoy, to make secret inquiries after news of the Chinese officers and soldiers; and that they pay them at the rate of 500 dollars a month

for their expenses. Therefore, the said rebels cannot but know all our movements.

5. I have heard that the villagers in the near neighbourhood of Ko-long-soo, when carrying a bridal chair on the road, have been subjected to the abrupt attack and abduction of the barbarians, who have taken and forcibly detained the newly-married bride, paying one hundred dollars to the bridegroom, and ordering him to take another; and when the bride's relations, sorrowing and lamenting, begged her release, they (the English) refused it; and only on appealing to the said nation's pseudo public officer (Captain Smith), at his place of receiving petitions, was she sent back; and some presents, camlets, &c., were bestowed.

6. I have learnt on inquiry, that the war-junks which the rebellious foreigners seized, have not yet been burnt, but are anchored off the Haeso hill. In the afternoon of the 19th day, some of the neighbouring inhabitants cautiously went to set them adrift, intending to deliver them up to the public officers, and receive the rewards; but they did not think they were watched by the barbarians, who sent their boats in chase, opened fire from their guns, killed three men, and brought the junks back.—*Chinese Repository.*

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*TABLE showing the number of GUNS captured from the CHINESE, between the commencement of* 1840 *and the end of* 1842.

| | | No. | Total. | Of which No. so many Brass |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| On the City Walls | Chusan, 5th July, 1840, | 23 | | |
| On the Sea Face | | 24 | | |
| In the Arsenals | | 44 | | |
| In War Junks | | 82 | | |
| | | | 173 | ... 1 |
| **In the Canton River.** | | | | |
| At the Macao Barrier, 19th August, 1840, | | 27 | | |
| | | | 27 | |
| At Chuenpee | 7th January, 1841, | 97 | | |
| At Ty-cock-tow | | 25 | | |
| In 13 War Junks | | 82 | | |
| | | | 204 | ... 8 |
| Battery, back of Anunghoy | 23rd February, 1840, | 80 | | |
| | | | 80 | |
| North Anunghoy | 26th February, 1841, | 40 | | |
| South Anunghoy | | 102 | | |
| Sand-Bag Batteries | | 30 | | |
| North Wangton | | 167 | | |
| Western Fort | | 40 | | |
| | | | 379 | ... 4 |
| First Bar Battery | 27th February, 1841, | 54 | | |
| Chesapeake | | 34 | | |
| War Junk | | 10 | | |
| | | | 98 | |
| Battery Junk Reach | 2nd March, 841, | 25 | | |
| | | | 25 | |
| Howqua's Folly | 3rd March, 1841, | 30 | | |
| Napier's Fort | | 35 | | |
| | | | 65 | |
| Captured by Lieut. Kellet in Brown's Passage, | | 14 | | |
| | | | 14 | |
| Macao Passage Fort | 13th March, 1841, | 38 | | |
| | | | 38 | |
| In the Broadway | 13th, 14th, and 15th March, 1841 | 105 | | |
| | | | 105 | |
| | | | 1208 | 13 |

| | | No. | Total. | Of which No. so many Bra[ss] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Garden Battery - | - - - | 31 | 1268 | 13 |
| Jack Shute's Folly | - - - | 9 | | |
| Shamien Battery | Capture of Canton, | 10 | | |
| Rouge Fort - - | 18th March, 1841 | 20 | | |
| Dutch Folly - - | - - - | 25 | | |
| Sand-Bag Batteries | - - - | 13 | | |
| Two Junks - - - | - - - | 15 | | |
| | | | 123 | |
| By Capt. Belcher, on the 23rd May, 1841, | | 50 | | |
| | | | 50 | |
| Four Forts on Heights | Second Capture | 42 | | |
| Shamean Battery - - | of Canton, 25th | 30 | | |
| Sand-Bag Works - - | May, 1842 - | 60 | | |
| | | | 132 | |
| On the Island of Amoy | - - | 211 | | |
| On Ko-long-so - - - | - - | 76 | | |
| Battery, S.W. side Bay | Capture of Amoy, | 41 | | |
| Little Gouve - - - | 26th August, 1841 | 15 | | |
| In 26 War Junks - - | - - | 128 | | |
| Not mounted - - - | - - | 157 | | |
| | | | 628 | |
| By Commander Fletcher | 30th and 31st | 42 | | |
| On Quemoy - - - - | August, 1841 | 3 | | |
| | | | 45 | |
| By Nemesis, at S' eipo, 17th Sept., 1841 - | | 41 | | |
| | | | 41 | |
| At Chusan | 1st Oct., 1841 - | 147 | | |
| | | | 147 | 36 |
| At Chin-hai | - 10th Oct., 1841 - | 157 | | |
| | | | 157 | 67 |
| At Ning-po | - 13th Oct., 1841 - | 25 | | |
| | | | 25 | |
| At Taisam | - - - | 40 | | |
| | | | 40 | |
| At Chapoo | - 18th May, 1841 - | 60 | | |
| | | | 60 | 11 |
| Up the Woosung River, 16th June, 1841 - | | 406 | | |
| | | | 406 | 100 |
| At Shesan | - - - - - | 20 | | |
| | | | 20 | |
| At Tsaouchan | - - - - | 12 | | |
| | | | 12 | |
| On the Walls of Chin-kiang-foo | - - | 20 | | |
| | | | 20 | |
| | | | 3114 | 230 |

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